



FOREIGN RELATIONS OF DELHI SULTANATE

ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY**

**BY
ROOHI ABIDA AHMED**

**Under the Supervision of
Prof. K. A. NIZAMI**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

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As the title of my thesis suggests
it is an attempt to trace the developments in the relations of the Delhi Sultans with their neighbouring countries. In other words the foreign policies of the Delhi Sultans have been discussed with special reference to Sultan Iltutmish, the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate and Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq under whose reign there is an attempt to extend the boundaries of the Indian frontiers. The reigns of Ghyasuddin Tughluq and Jalaluddin Khalji were comparatively short during which they were busy in establishing their respective dynasties in Hindustan and hence struggling hard for interval peace and order. Therefore they did not show any keenness in external affairs and hence it was difficult to trace their foreign policies.

While discussing the foreign policies of the Delhi Sultans it was necessary to describe the region of the North-West Frontier of Hindustan as well as to discuss the role played by this region and its inhabitants in determining the foreign Policies of the Delhi Sultans. The North-west Frontier region occupied a position of great strategic as well as economic importance , and it was therefore necessary for a ruler of Hindustan to maintain effective control over it.

The foreign relations of the early Turkish rulers include their relations with the mongols of Central Asia and the Persian Ilkhans.

However an attempt has also been made to refer to the commercial and intellectual relations of the Delhi sultans with the outside world. The relations with the Caliphate play an important role in the foreign relations of the Delhi Sultans. Hence it has been discussed with special reference to Iltutmish and Muhammad Bin Tughluq.

The rise of the Mongols under Chengiz Khan in Central Asia was an important development and the foreign policies of the early Turkish Sultans was guided by this development in Central Asia. The Delhi Sultan Iltutmish became alarmed when the mongols entered Hindustan following the fugitive Khwarazmian prince Jalaluddin Mangbarni. Iltutmish seemed to have guarded his foreign policy keeping in view

the mongol danger which loomed large on the Indian horizon. He was a far-sighted ruler who acted with great diplomacy and thus averted the mongol danger during his life time. Minhaj-us-Siraj, in his 'Tabaqat-i-Nasri' says that it was Sultan Iltutmish who kept the banner of Islam high when all the other muslim powers were being wiped out by the Mongols.

After the death of Iltutmish, however, this position could not continue and the mongol invasions became a menacing problem throughout the early Turkish period. The regular and irksome incursions of the mongols on the Sultanate of Delhi had destroyed the peace and prosperity

of the country and had considerably disturbed its inhabitants.

With the coming of Balban to the throne of the Delhi Sultanate we find that a policy of resistance is developed towards the mongols. Balban openly confesses that but for the Mongols he would have followed an expansionist policy. During the time of Balban trade and commerce also developed further with the Arab countries.

With the advent of the Khaljis the policy of resistance is further strengthened. The relations of Sultan Allauddin Khalji with the powers of Central Asia and Persia assumed entirely different dimensions.

The greatest pressure upon the independent sultanate of Delhi fell during the early years of Allauddin Khalji's reign (1296-1316 A.D.). His reign specially witnessed the Mongol invasions from the Chaghtai Khanate of Central Asia, in the course, of which the enemy twice reached the outskirts of Delhi. After 1307 A.D., however, the mongol threat suddenly receded, and only on one occasion subsequently does it appear to have attained the same proportions during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq.

The rise of the Tughluqs marks a departure from the policies of the Khalji's in certain respects and an elaboration of them in other Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1324-1351 A.D.)

adopted a foreign policy that had far reaching consequences. The corner- stone of his policy was the establishment of friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, in particular , the mongol powers of Central Asia and Persia. He believed in the use of military force in case the end could not be achieved through peaceful means. His knowledge of the political developments beyond the Indian frontiers is reflected in his Qarachil and Khurasan expeditions and his scheme of Token Currency.

During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq a reaction had started against the policies of Muhammad Bin Tughluq. With the result that he gave up the policy of his predecessor and was not

keen to maintain diplomatic relations with the foreign powers.

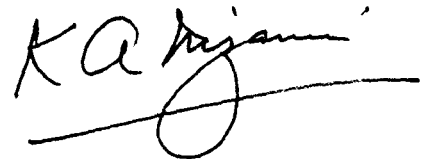
To sum up the Foreign relations of the Delhi Sultans it would not be an exaggeration to say that except for Muhammad Bin Tughluq all the other Sultans followed a very guarded policy towards their neighbouring powers, i.e. the mongols of Central Asia and the Ilkhans of persia. Their relationship with these powers determined their theory of kingship, limited their expansionist policies, moulded their economic policies and excercised far reaching consequences on the administrative structure of the Delhi Sultanate.

Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami

*Nizami Villa,
Sir Syed Road,
Aligarh 202001
Tel. 3207*

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mrs. Roohi Abida Ahmed has completed her research under my supervision. This thesis prepared by her on " Foreign Relations of Delhi Sultanate " is her original work and is fit for the award of the degree of Ph.D in History.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K A Nizami', with a long horizontal stroke extending from the end of the signature.

(K. A. NIZAMI)

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Acknowledgements	2
Preface	3
Introduction	7
Chapter-I Foreign Policy of Sultan Iltutmish	22
Chapter-II Successors of Iltutmish and the development in their foreign policy.	59
Chapter-III Diplomatic Relations of Allauddin Khalji	101
Chapter-IV Foreign Policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq	122
Chapter-V Relations of Muhammad bin Tughluq with the Foreigners	169
Chapter-VI Relations of the Delhi Sultans with the Caliphate	195
Chapter-VII Commercial Relations of the Delhi Sultans	205
Bibliography	217

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PREFACE

As the title of my thesis suggests it is an attempt to trace the development in the foreign policy of the Delhi Sultans.

With the establishment of Sultanate of Delhi, simultaneously we find the establishment of the Power of the mongols under Chengiz Khan. The rise of the mongols during this period was a significant development. It became a serious matter when the mongols turned their attention towards the Delhi Sultanate. Thus we find that the Foreign Policy of the Delhi Sultans during the first half of the 13th Century is influenced and directed by the very presence of the Mongols in Central Asia. The repeated invasions of the Mongols in the north-west frontier of Hindustan enhanced the significance of this region and this continued till the time of the Mughals. The first two chapters of my thesis deal with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate simultaneously with the rise of the mongols in Central Asia. These also cover the foreign policy of Sultan Illutmish and his successors.

There came a change in the Foreign policy of the Delhi Sultans with the accession of Balban. Balban

deviated from the Policy of the previous sultans of appeasement and reconciliation and adopted a policy of resistance towards the mongols.

With the advent of Allauddin Khalji the Foreign Policy assumed entirely a different dimension. He developed diplomatic relations with the mongol Il-Khans of persia. The mongol envoy Rashiduddin Fazlullah came to his Court and was showered with unprecedented favours of Sultan Allauddin Khalji. Rashiduddin Fazlullah is said to have come again during the reign of Mubarak Khalji. The third Chapter of my thesis deals with this aspect of the diplomatic relations of the Khaljis.

The fourth and the fifth Chapters are devoted entirely to the Tughluqs with special reference to Muhammad bin Tughluq. The rise of the Tughluqs marks a departure from the policies of the Khaljis in certain respects and an elaboration of them in others. Muhammad bin Tughluq was probably the only Sultan who was fully aware of the political developments in the neighbouring Countries and this is reflected in his foreign policy.

Mohammad bin Tughluq's Qarachil and Khurasan expeditions reflect his thorough knowledge of the Indian Frontiers as well as the knowledge of the neighbouring countries. Recent discovery of 'Bayaz ' of Tajuddin Wazir in Iran has brought to light many interesting aspects of the relations of Muhammad bin Tughluq with Sultan Abu-saeed. While the Indian historians have given very little information about the foreign policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the accounts of the foreign travellers and historians like Ibn-i-Batuta, Al-Qal-Qashandi, Shihabuddin Al-Umari, Ibu-i-Hajar Asqalani and others throw valuable light on the Foreign relations of Mohammad bin Tugluq.

The Sixth and the Seventh chapters deal with the relations of the Delhi Sultans with

the Caliphate as well as the development in the trade and Commerce during the sultanate Period.

To prepare a connected and coherent account of the relations of Delhi Sultans with Central Asian, Arab and Persian Countries is the object of the present work. It's importance for a proper study of the history of Medieval India cannot be over emphasized. However, it will fill in the gap in our historical studies.

Roohi Abida Ahmed.

ROOHI ABIDA AHMED

INTRODUCTION

"The intimate contact between India and the outer Asiatic World" remarks Sir Jadunath Sarker, "which had been established in the early Buddhistic age, was lost when the new Hindu society was reorganized and set in rigidity like a concrete structure about the 8th Century A.D. (800 A.D.), with the result India again became self-centred and isolated from the moving world beyond her natural barriers.¹"

One of the factors responsible for this isolationistic attitude of the Hindus was their sense of superiority.

"According to their beliefs writes Al-beruni, "there is no country on earth but theirs no other race of man but theirs and no created beings besides them have any knowledge".² This attitude at

1. India Through the Ages, p.43.

2. Al-beruni's India, p.23

large is to be found in India from the eighth century till the coming of the Turks in the 12th century A.D. It had exercised its unhealthy influence on almost every sphere of external relations, be it intellectual, cultural, political and even economic. If the laws of Manu may be an index to the mind of the Hindu ruling classes, their attitude towards foreign powers was one of contemptuous indifference suspicion and even hostility.¹

"Let (the King) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour" was Manu's advice to his contemporary rulers. The Muslim conquest of India restored the diplomatic relations with the rest of the world and India once again started bubbling with foreign travellers and diplomatic relations were soon established with Central Asia, Persia and nearest parts of Africa.

1. Laws of Manu- (Sacred Books of the East Series), Vol. XXV, pp. 241-249.

India's contact with Central Asia covers many aspects of human relationship- social, political, intellectual and economic, Caravans of men and streams of thought constantly flowed between India and Central Asia despite limited means of communication and intimate contacts developed between these two regions. Zia Uddin Barani, our main authority for the period under study informs us of and on about the visits of ambassadors from distant lands. Barani 's account regarding the exchange of embassies and ambassadors is also corroborated by the other contemporary Indian and non-Indian historians of that period.

Our modern historical works however do not offer the positive side of the diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries ruled over by the descendents of Chengiz Khan. Their account includes only a record of continual warfare lasting for more than a hundred years. No doubt, the occupation by the Mongols of Ghaznin and the areas around (now

included in modern Afghanistan) constituted a serious threat to the Delhi Sultanate, yet the odd bits available in the contemporary sources provide clues to the exchange of gifts and diplomatic courtesies between the Mongol princes in different regions and the Sultans of Delhi. But before we discuss the different aspects of diplomatic relations between India and its foreign counterparts we must have a careful look at the political developments in Central Asia and other Afro-Asian countries. Besides, we may also analyse the developments in the North-West Frontier region and role played by the tribes of these region in determining the foreign policy of the Delhi Sultans.

North West Frontier Region And
Its Significance in Determining
The Foreign Policy of the Delhi
Sultans :

Every ruling dynasty of Hindustan had to deal with the complex problem of the North-west frontier region of Hindustan. This region occupied a position of great strategic as well as economic importance, and it was therefore necessary for a ruler of Hindustan to maintain effective control over it. It's geographical configuration, the courses of it's rivers, it's economic setting determined the political developments of the period. The tribes inhabiting this area retained their tribal character, freedom of thought, and action. It required great tact to deal with and control these tribes inhabiting this significant region of the empire.

Any reference to the north-western frontier of Hindustan during the medieval period brings to mind the picture of rugged mountains. It touches

Kabul and Qandahar and included portions of Modern Afghanistan. The most impressive physical feature of the region is the range of mountains known as Hindu Kush. It is pierced by a number of passes- the important being Bolan, Gomal Tochi, Malakand and Khyber. These passes have witnessed many marches and counter marches by globe trotters and settlers.

While the towering mountain ranges make this region look inhospitable these passes which connect India with Central Asia bring in a measure of relief. The region has rightly been called the "cross roads of Asia".

The Medieval governments fully realized that possession of this region provided them a natural frontier which considerably buttressed their position by making it difficult for the foreign armies to cross it. The ordinary route in those days was not known Khyber pass nor the Bolan in the south but through the Gomal which led to Dera

Ismail Khan and from there to upper Sind Sagar Doab. The Khyber Bolan and the less accessible Kurram and Tochi Passes were not used by trading caravans to the same extent as the Gomai Passage which was the normal military route also.

This is proved by the fact that throughout the thirteenth century the first point of attack for an invading army from beyond the salt range was Multan or Uchch and not Lahore and Peshawar. From Ghazni the shortest route to Punjab was through Kurram Tochi and Gomai Passes.

With the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi close links were established with the north western frontier which was the homeland of the founder of the Delhi Sultanate.

Referring to the strategic importance of this region Abul Fazl observes, "The wise of Ancient

times considered Kabul and Qandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan the one leading to Turkestan and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders and they are likewise the appropriate portals of foreign travel".¹

Kabul and Qandahar were places of great commercial importance. Babar noticed two trade routes between Hindustan and Khurasan viz Kabul and Qandhar "To Kabul" remarks Babar, caravans come from Kashgar, Farghana, Turkestan, Samargand , Bukhara Balkh, Hisar and Badakhshan."²

Thus the roads and passes pierced into the region of the North-west Frontier of Hindustan through which India's contact had been maintained

1. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 403.

2. Babar Namah, p.202.

with Central Asia. During the Sultanate period the irruption of the Mongols led to a situation which required diplomatic and careful handling of the tribal population of this region.

Another problem that confronted the Delhi Sultans was the importance of this area as a buffer region whenever any important power rose up in Central Asia and its role as the main shock absorber in times of actual conflict and crises.

The tribal involvement in the politics of this region began when the Khokars entered into a conspiracy with the Carmathians and assassinated Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghuri at Damyak. Aibek's decision to remain in Lahore was to some extent dictated by the need to keep a close watch over the tribal activities. It appears from Insha-i-Mahru, that even for the realization of taxes from these areas, the support of saints and other influential persons was

sought by the governors. The success of Ain-ul Mulk Mahru's administration in Multan and the frontier region was largely due to his tactful handling of these tribes.¹ The flight of the Khwarazmian Prince Jalaluddin into Hindustan being closely followed by Chengiz Khan led to a situation when the crack forces of the empire had to be stationed in the North-west Frontier region, In fact as a result of this development, wardenship of marches became a stepping stone to Kingship. Iltutmish, Balban and Alauddin Khalji Planned their policies in the light of this development in the North-west frontier region.

1. Tariq Ahmad, "Religio-Political Ferment in the North-West Frontier during the Mughal Period, 'The Raushanya Movement, p.2.

After the Ghurid conquest of Northern India when Iltutmish ascended the throne in 1210 A.D. he established the Sultanate of Delhi, which was otherwise founded by the slave of the Ghurid ruler Muizuddin Ghori, Qutbuddin Aibek. It is, therefore necessary to acquire some understanding of the background and home land of the Ghurid rulers and then their ultimate liquidation from Central Asian scene by the Khwarazmian emperor Allauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah.

Further we find that the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi was simultaneous with the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia. The ascendancy of Chengiz Khan and the rise of the mongols made the Indian chronicles generally lament that "the whole of the land of Iran and Turan fell under the sway of the Mongols" and "the authority of Muhammad religion departed from these regions which became the seat of

Paganism and not a trace of the Malikhs and Sultans of Islam remained in these countries."¹ It was during this time that we find Sultan Iltutmish kept the Sultanate of Delhi aloof from the Central Asian Politics. But when the mongol danger loomed large on the Indian horizon Iltutmish adopted the policy of appeasement. We find references to show that Iltutmish was desirous of some kind of an alliance with the mongols by which the territorial integrity of the Delhi Sultanate should be maintained.²

The successors of Sultan Iltutmish were weak rulers who could not, except for Sultan Razia, establish stability within the empire which ultimately passed on to Ulugh Khan-i- Azam, who ascended the throne

1. Minhaj-us-Siraj -Tabaqat -i Nasiri , eng.trans by Major Reverty Vol. II pp. 869-72.
2. K.A. Nizami, Rel. & Pol. in India during the 13th Cen. p.30.

of the Delhi Sultanate as Sultan Ghyasuddin Balban.

Balban adopted a policy of resistance towards the mongols . He openly confessed that but for the mongols he would have followed an expansionist policy. But Balban had to pay a heavy price for his policy of resistance towards the mongols. He lost his eldest son Prince Muhammad in this struggle.

With the advent of the Khaljis the policy of resistance is further strengthened and during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji the policy towards the Mongols assumed entirely different dimensions.

The greatest pressure upon the independent Sultanate of Delhi fell during the early years of Alauddin Khalji's reign (1296-1316 A.D.). The reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji specially witnessed a series of Mongol invasions from the Chaghtai Khanate of Central Asia, in the course of which the enemy twice reached the outskirts of Delhi. After about 1307 A.D. however, the Mongol threat suddenly receded ; and only

on one occasion subsequently does it appear to have attained to the same proportions during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

The rise of the Tughluq's marks a departure from the policies of the Khalji's in certain respects and an elaboration of them in other spheres. Of the Sultan of Delhi, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1324-1351 A.D.) a remarkable man on several counts, adopted a foreign policy that had far reaching consequences. The corner stone of his foreign policy was the establishment of friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. In particular the Mongol powers in Central Asia and Iran. He believed in the use of military force, in case the end could not be achieved through peaceful means. His knowledge of the political developments beyond the Indian frontiers is reflected in his Qarachil and Khurasan expeditions and his scheme of Token Currency. Recent discovery of 'Bayaz' of Tajuddin

Wazir in Iran has brought to light many interesting aspects of the relations of Muhammad bin Tughluq with Sultan Abu Saeed of Persia. During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq a reaction had strated against the policies of Muhammad Bin Tughluq with the result that Sultan Firuz Tughluq abstained from following the policies of his predecessor in the diplomatic sphere. In fact he was not keen in maintaining diplomatic contacts with the neighbouring countries. As a result, it was difficult to discuss in detail the foreign relations of Firuz Tughluq in the present work.

CHAPTER-I

FOREIGN POLICY OF SULTAN ILTUTMISH

CHAPTER-I

The region of Ghur from where the invaders came, lies in the west, its centre being the modern Afghanistan. It has an intervening mountain chains and these mountain ranges, rise to over 10,000 feet and become considerably higher as they run eastwards to the Hindukush. Thus it made Ghur difficult of access and shut her out completely from all cultural and commercial contacts with the outside world. These geographical factors led to the fragmentation of political power in Ghur and each fort came to exercise independent sway over the area immediately under its control. It was as late as the twelfth century that a portion of Ghur developed a capital at Firoz Koh. Before that there was no centre from which the region could be controlled by a single ruler.

The region of Ghur was mainly an agricultural area being very fertile. It was also famous for horse rearing and had a reputation for supplying slaves to the markets of Herat and Sistan.¹ The climate of the mountain ranges of this area was however, suitable for the production of iron in large quantities hence, making the people of this region great producers of war weapons and war equipments.²

The Shansabani dynasty to which the great Ghurid rulers Ghyasuddin and Shihabuddin belonged exercised suzerainty over Ghur.³ They were formerly Pagans but had adopted Islam later on. The expansion

1. C.E. Bosworth's article, "The Early Islamic History of Ghur", CAJ, Vol. VI, 1961, p.118.

2. Ibid., p.120.

3. Ibid., pp.122-23.

of Islamic political and cultural influences in Ghur began with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030) who is reported to have appointed teachers to instruct the people of Ghur in the precepts of Islam after his campaign of 1010-11 A.D.¹

It was during the time of the Shansabani ruler Allauddin Jahanzuz that the Ghurid power was consolidated and their authority extended upto Gharjistan, Bamiyan and the adjoining regions.

Prof. Nizami rightly observes that "it was Allauddin Jahanzuz who gave imperialistic ambitions and expansionist zeal to the Shansabanis. Fortunately for him there was a political vacuum of power in the region. The Ghazanavids had gone down. Allauddin took

1. Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p.155.

advantage of this situation and started expanding his power. A division of the Ghurid Empire emerged out of this situation. The senior branch ruled over Ghur from Firuz Koh and looked for expansion westwards into Khurasan. When Ghazni was finally taken in 1173-74 A.D. another branch was established there which looked towards India for its expansion.

Allauddin Jahanzuz was succeeded by his nephews Ghiyasuddin (1163-1203) and Shihabuddin (1173-1206). Under them the Ghurid Kingdom, according to Barthold, rose to the rank of a world power.¹

When Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne in 1163 A.D. he made his brother Shihabuddin the governor

1. Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion, p.338. by.

W. Barthold

of Takinabad with instructions to capture Ghazni which had gone in the hands of the Ghizz Turks. After its conquest in 1173-74 A.D. Ghiyasuddin gave it to Shihabuddin. "Though Shihabuddin's subordinate principality of Ghazni" writes Prof. Habib, "is expanded into an empire he always recognized his elder brother as his sovereign and abided by whatever orders Ghiyasuddin was pleased to give."¹

At a time when there was a remarkable growth of the power of Ghur both in its homelands and in India, we find the emergence of the Khwarazmian Empire under Allauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah (1200-20 A.D.), He has been styled,

1. Prof. Mohd. Habib, Comprehensive History of History of India", Vol. V. p.43.

as the 'second Alexander',¹ Impressed by the power of the Ghurid brothers Allauddin had asked them to treat him as his son,² but the Ghurians incited by the Caliph had made up their mind to 'take the offensive'.³ But after an initial success the Ghurids were defeated by the Khwarazmian Emperor.

At this juncture Ghiyasuddin died and his brother Shihabuddin who had now assumed the title of Sultan Muizzuddin had to beat a retreat. He kept Ghazni and the Indian territories with him and divided the territory of Ghiyasuddin among his brother's worthless heirs. The Khwarazmian army captured all this territory and thus bringing an end to the Ghurid power in Central Asia. Muizzuddin was left with Ghazni

1. Prof. Mohd. Habib, Comprehensive History of History of India", Vol. V. p.43

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

and his Indian possessions and when in 1206 A.D. he was assassinated at Damyak near the Indus, Allauddin Khwarazm Shah annexed the homelands of the Ghurian Kingdom. Only the Indian possessions of Sultan Muizzuddin were inherited by his slave officers. One of whom Aibek later on founded the Sultanate of Delhi in 1206 A.D.

The Khwarazm empire reached its zenith under Allauddin Khwarazm Shah. Simultaneously when Khwarazm Shah was carrying fire and sword in Central Asia and was bringing city after city under his subordination the Central Asia was witnessing the rise of the Mongols under the leadership of Chengiz Khan.

The ascendancy of Chengiz Khan and the rise of the Mongols made the Indian chroniclers generally

lament that "the whole of the land of Turan and Iran fell under the sway of the Mongols" and the authority of the Muhammadan religion departed from these regions which became the seat of Paganism and not a trace of the Maliks and Sultans of Islam remained in these countries".¹

The Khwarazm Shah and Chengiz Khan, both were aware of each other's abilities and supremacy in their respective territories. The mongols were great promoters of trade and commerce.² Changiz Khan's extra ordinary efforts for developing trade have been appreciated by Minhaj-us Siraj who has further highlighted the arrival of Sayyids of Delhi for these purposes.³ To further improve the ^{relations with the} Khwarazmian empire

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1. Minhaj-us Siraj, Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. tr. by Major Raverty, Vol. II, pp. 869-72.
 2. Even at the time of wars the Mongols would give special passes to the merchants to carry on their trade and took care not to affect the trade routes in their otherwise disastrous expeditions.
 3. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Engg. Trans. Raverty, Vol. II, p. 1287.

Chengiz Khan sent a message to Allauddin Khwarazm Shah to the effect that as they had become neighbours there should be peace and free passage of merchants between them. But when this embassy reached the Khwarazm territory the Khwarazm Shah had them executed. This had enraged the Mongol ruler who started his conquest of Ajam which included wholesale massacres and physical liquidations of the Musalmans of Ajam. There was nothing secret about this reign of terror. Chengiz and his successors wanted to advertise to the whole world. Consequently the official historians of the Mongols like Ata Malik Juwaini and Rashiduddin, while justifying these massacres as due, to 'disobedience and revolt' are careful in explaining their exact character and extent. While the writers hostile to the Mongols like Minhaj-us Siraj relate the same massacres 'from a different angle.

Juwaini writes about the extent of destruction in these words, "wherever there was a king or a ruler, of the governor of a city that offered him resistance Chengiz Khan annihilated him together with his family and followers Kinsmen and strangers so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained not a hundred souls alive."¹

No power in the world was able to withstand him and city after city fell before the barbarians and Sultan Allauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah died. His son Jalaluddin Minqbarni succeeded him. He fought bravely with the Mongols but ultimately he too could not stand the Mongol power and had to run for his life and came towards Hindustan as a refugee.

1. Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha, Boyles trans. Vol.II, p.23.

Let us now return to the empire founded by Chengiz Khan in his own country and which persisted for three generations and was a terror to all mankind. Chengiz had four sons. Juji (or Tushi) the eldest died in the life time of his father, but Juji's son Batu, conquered southern Russia Bulgaria and part of Poland, and founded his dynasty there. Ogtai the eldest surviving son succeeded Chengiz as 'Khan', 'Qa'an' or 'Khaqan'. Chaghtai and Tului were given domains under the suzerainty of their brother Ogtai. Ogtai was succeeded by his son Kuyuk (or Kapak). But after Kuyuk's short reign the unity of the empire disappeared. The Quriltai or the assembly of the Mongols was held in 1251 A.D. which chose, Mangu Khan as their 'Khan'. Mangu Khan sent one of his brothers Qublai (the Kubla Khan of Coleridge) against China and the other brother Hulaku Khan was sent against the 'heretics ' (Ismailis) of Persia.

Hulaku first captured the forts of the heretics and then proceeded to overthrow the Caliph of Baghdad. Baghdad was captured and sacked in 1258 A.D. Hulaku's descendants in Persia were known as the Ilkhans. While they acknowledged the formal superiority of the Mongol Khanan they continued to govern Persia in practical independence during the thirteenth century. Mean while in the east Mangu was succeeded by his brother Qublai who completed the conquest of China.

The early success of the Mongols had been due to the strength of their military organisation the genius of their leaders and the hardships which the rank and file were prepared to bear. A generation of civilization was sufficed to degenerate them. The Il-khans of Persia became Musalman and adopted the Persian ways.

Shihabuddin Mohammad Ghuri left for Hindustan a legacy in the form of his Turkish Slave-beauracracy. He had rightly declared that the true heir of his achievements and his hopes was his slave beauracracy and not any dynasty as founded by other 'kings of the period. The system which he had organised continued for nearly a century and his descendents were able to govern Hindustan while the Kingdoms of Ghor and Khwarazm were swept away by the Mongols. The Indo-Turkish oligarchy of the thirteenth century had many grievous faults and its history is a continuous round of intrigues and assassinations, plots, and counter-plots. But it had the ambitious spirit of its founder and however selfish in its aims displayed alike in its architectural designs and its military plans a boldness of thought that would have been madness for less competent men.¹"

1. K.A. Nizami, Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period, Vol.II, pp.147-48.

However, the Sultanate of Delhi founded by Qutbuddin Aibek and established by Sultan Iltutmish was a flimsy structure based entirely on the Turkish Oligarchy with neither the material strength nor the moral support which a permanent government needs. Nor could it rely on the support of any friendly power beyond the North-Western frontier in the time of need. Such a system would have been swept away sooner or later but for this untoward movements which indirectly strengthened its position and preserved it for nearly a century.

The Mongol invasions of Central Asia and Persia which had caused havoc and devastations in those lands resulted in giving indirect impetus to the infant Sultanate of Delhi. These invasions caused

an immigration of a number of Muslim families into India. They were welcomed by the Delhi Sultans and got absorbed in the administration of the Delhi Sultanate. Few of these immigrants thought of returning to their desolated homes and settled between the Hindu masses and thereby prevented the Hindu population from getting out of control.

By the end of the twelfth century the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia was a significant development and the foreign policy of the early turkish rulers was directed against these Mongols of Central Asia.

When Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish ascended the throne in 1210 A.D. he turned his attention

towards this menacing problem of the Mongols. At the beginning of his reign Iltutmish adopted a neutral attitude towards the Mongols. But when the Mongol danger loomed large on the Indian horizon, Iltutmish changed his policy towards them. In fact the Delhi Sultan had three different phases of his foreign policy towards the Mongols. In the first phase he kept aloof from the Central Asian politics. In the second phase he adopted a policy appeasement and thirdly that of resistance. He kept himself aloof from the Central Asian politics as long as the Mongols had not turned their attention towards the Delhi Sultanate. But Chengiz Khan's conflict with the Khwarazmian Prince Jalauddin Mangbarni resulted in the latter's flight towards Hindustan. This was an alarming

factor. Not only Jalauddin was famous for his valour and capability, which could endanger the Delhi Sultan's own authority, but the presence of the fugitive prince in the territories of Hindustan meant an open invitation to the Mongols. Sultan Iltutmish was determined not to let the Kingdom of Delhi fall into the hands of the Mongols. When Mangbarni followed by Chengiz crossed the Indus and entered into the North-west frontier of Hindustan the politics of the region became a centre of struggle between four powers- Chengiz, Mangbarni, Qubacha and the Khokars. The Khokars were a turbulent tribe, hostile to the Delhi Sultans. Qubacha occupied Uchch and Multan and was constant rival of Iltutmish. Hence an alliance between the Khokars, Qubacha and Chengiz Khan could be dangerous for Iltutmish. Therefore, Iltutmish had to plan his policies in the

light of these developments. Although other Indian sources appreciate the wisdom of Iltutmish in averting the danger of invasion from Chengiz Khan by discouraging Mangbarni to come to Hindustan, Minhaj-us Siraj gives a dilemma which prevented Chengiz Khan from proceeding towards India.

Minhaj writes "For a period of three months Chengiz Khan halted in the Gibari territory and the Koh Paya, and from thence the Chengiz Khan dispatched envoys to the presence of Sultan Shams-ud-dunya wa-ud-ddin Iyaltamish¹ - may he rest in peace - as he was entertaining the design of conducting his army towards Hindustan and of returning by way of the Koh-Karachal and Kamrud to the country of Chin, but although he was burning shoulder-bones (of sheep) continually and examining

1. Iltutmish.

them, he used not to find permission, augured that he should enter Hind, when swift messangers brought information to him from Tamghaj and Tingit that the Khans of Tingit and Tamagaj were in a state of revolt and that the loss of those territories was impending and as a matter of necessity he returned from the Koh-Paya of Gibari.¹" His account is corroborated by Juvaini and Rashiduddin Fazlullah, the Mongol writers who are unanimous in saying that both Chengiz Khan and Mangbarni had sent their envoys to Sultan Iltutmish. Juvaini says that Mangbarni also sent an envoy to the Delhi Sultan. "The vissitudes of fortune have established my right to approach the

1. Tabagat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. by Major Raverty, Vol.II, p.1045.

the presence and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore, the drinking place of friendship be purified upon either side and the cups of fraternity filled to the brim and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe then shall all our aims and objects be attained, and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us the teeth of their resistance will be blunted.¹" And he requested a place might be assigned to him in which he could remain for a few days. But the Sultan of Delhi on receiving this message brooded over the matter for several days. We do not now what treatment was given to the Mongol envoy but considering the evil consequences it was said

1. Tarikh-i Jahan Gushan, Eng. trans. by J.A. Boyle, Vol. II, p.412.

that "an attack was made on Ain-ul Mulk (the Khwarazmian envoy) in Delhi and he was killed.¹ In return Sultan Shamsuddin sent a messenger with offerings of food worthy of such a guest but excused himself from providing a place of abode on the grounds that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate nor any locality such as would be fit for a king.² If the Sultan (Jalaluddin) agreed he would assign him a place in that region of Delhi and would hand that area to him as soon as he had cleared it of rebels. When this message reached the Sultan, he turned

1. Tarikh-i Jahan Gushan, Eng. trans. by J.A. Boyle, Vol.II, p.413.

2. Ibid., p. 414.

back and went to the regions of Balala and Nakala.¹ No doubt in this way, by not providing asylum to the Khwarazmian Prince, Iltutmish had shown great diplomatic skill in dealing with both the enemies but it was as rightly observed by Minhaj, the news of the rebellion in Tamghaj and Tingit² as well as Chengiz's superstitions belief.³ which prevented Chengiz Khan from proceeding to India. According to Prof. K.A. Nizami "probably Iltutmish utilized this opportunity for entering into a non-aggression pact with the mongols according to which

1. Juvaini Eng. trans. by Boyle Vol.II, p.414.

2. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. by Major Raverty, Vol. II, pp. 1042-1043.

3. Ibid. "He" continually burnt shoulder bones of sheep and examined them. He used not to find permission augured that he should enter Hind".

no enemy of the Mongols could be given asylum by the Sultan of Delhi and in return the territorial integrity of the Turkish empire was to be respected by the Mongols.¹"

At this juncture Minhaj also praises the Delhi Sultan for preserving the banner of Islam while the other Muslim countries had fallen one after the other. He prides and feels a sense of relief in the fact that the Kingdom of Hindustan became the focus of the people of Islam and an orbit of the possessors of religion. His prejudice against the Mongols is all the more intensified

1.K.A. Nizami, Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century.

when due to the Mongol havoc the patronage to the men of letters was lost. Again it is for the same reason that he praises so highly the Delhi Sultan who became the patron of such men.

As long as Chengiz Khan was alive Iltutmish followed a very cautious policy and did not try to consolidate his position and entered his empire in the north-west frontier region. But soon after the death of Chengiz Khan the third phase of Iltutmish's policy towards the Mongol started namely that of resistance. The death of Chengiz Khan had subsided the Mongol danger for sometime on the Indian frontier. Minhaj refers to a strange custom among the Mongols that "when a sovereign among them dies another should not mount to the throne for one year and a half, and this period they call three years- one year and

half of nights."¹ Thus on having some respite from the Mongols Iltutmish marched in 1229 A.D. against Qubacha and after defeating him established his firm control over Sind and the Punjab region. At this juncture it is important to analyse the role played by the Qarlugh rulers in the development of Indo-Mongol relations and the importance of the territorial units occupied by the Qarlughs.

The regions of Kuh-i Jud² and Binban were still left with the nobles of Jalaluddin Mangbarni.

1. Tabagat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. by Major Raverty, Vol. II, p.1144.

2. The Kuh-i Jud tract is identified with the salt range district in Pakistan.

The Khwarazmian Prince had left these territories with Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Tai.¹

Soon after defeating Qubacha Iltutimish marched against these Khwarazmian noble Uzbek Tai who was driven from Hindustan. But the other one Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh who was occupying territories north of the Indus such as Nangrahar, Kurraman, Furshur (modern Peshawar) and northern part of Binban was allowed to govern Binban as he paid allegiance to Iltutmish. With Hasan Qarlugh's entry in the service of the Delhi Sultan the north-west frontier of the Delhi Sultanate was extended upto the boundaries of Nangrahar, Kurraman and Ghazni territories.

1. Cf. I.H. Siddiqui's article, "The Qarlugh Kingdom in N.W. India during the thirteenth Century ", I.C. Vol. LIV, No.2-1980.

This situation remained unchanged till 1235 A.D. The Qarlugh kingdom acted as a buffer state between the Mongol empire and the Delhi Sultanate till 1266 A.D. A Study of the Qarlugh rulers who occupied the regions of strategic importance.

In 1234-35 A.D. Hasan Qarlugh was threatened by the appearance of a large army headed by the Mongol Hoquter. The latter had already plundered Kashmir and made a large number of people captives. In an attempt to save himself from destruction, Hasan Qarlugh acknowledged the Mongol emperor ¹Uktai Khan

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1. The author of Tabaqat-i Nasiri is silent about the repudiation of allegiance by Hasan Qarlugh to Iltutmish in favour of the Mongol ruler because it was not palatable to his patron in Delhi, Similarly he does not tell us of the noble against whom Iltutmish marched towards Binban in 1235 A.D. However in his account of the Mongols in the year 1239-40 he states that previously Hasan Qarlugh had accepted the overlordship with the promise to pay agreed mal (tribute) annually to the Mongol Khan-Tabaqat-i Nasiri ,p.391.

(1229-1241) and also pledged to pay annually a fixed mal (tribute) from the revenues of Binban. This development aroused Iltutmish into action against him. The Sultan of Delhi marched at the head of a formidable army towards Binban but fell seriously ill on his way and was then brought back to his capital in a litter where he died shortly afterwards in 1236 A.D.

The policy of Iltutmish towards the Mongols, hence, was that of keeping distance with them. He did not want to make them either his allies or his enemies. That is why we find that when Mongol ruler of the Golden Horde, Barka Khan¹

1. Grandson of Ghengiz Khan, who had become Musalman.

sent rarities and presents to Sultan Iltutmish he did not respond favourably. "He used the gates of inter course and friendship with the Khan of Mughals open in any way, he used not to admit their envoys to his presence. The envoys were therefore, sent to the fortress of Gwalior where every Friday they used to offer prayer in Jami Masjid. Later they were removed to Kannauj where they died in captivity.¹"

Thus, Iltutmish followed a very cautious policy towards the Mongols. He did not even try to take advantage of the situation when an enmity had developed between the rulers of the Golden Horde and their counter parts in

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. by Raverty
Vol. II, pp. 1282-85.

Central Asia.¹ This situation was exploited later by the Delhi Sultans like Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq.

While discussing the political aspect of Iltutmish's foreign policy we may not forget about the religious and intellectual side of Iltutmish's foreign policy. Iltutmish's interest in religion increased with his years. "From the observance of mere formalities and rituals he now turned to the spirit."² His love and respect for the Caliph (Khalifa) was genuine and he was the first Muslim ruler of

1. Tabaqat-i Nasir, Eng. trans. by Reverti
Vol. II, pp.1256-57.

2. K.A. Nizami, 'Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, p.35.

India who secured sanction for his rule from Baghdad.¹ He recognized the authority of the Khalifa and received his emissaries with great honour on the 22nd of Rabiul Awwal 1229 A.D.²

The receipt of the investiture from the Khalifa not only satisfied the formalities of Muslim law, but buttressed his position in India and raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He is even said to have issued a coin with the Caliph's name on it probably to commemorate the arrival of the Caliph's diploma of investiture.³

1. Cf. K.A. Nizami's "Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, p.36.

2. Ibid.

3. Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p.46.

Iltutmish's respect and attachment to the Caliph was so deep that when once, the Khalifa sent one Qazi Jalal-Urus to Delhi with a valuable present for Iltutmish. This present was an old copy of Safinat-ul Khulafa which contained some autographic inscriptions from Mamur-ur Rashid.¹ The inscription read as follows: "My father, Amir-ul Muminin Harun-ur Rashid, inspite of his dignified position, used to go on foot at night to the houses of Da'ud Tai and Muhammad Samak two pious men of Baghdad with only a few servants. These saints did not call my father in though he went to their doors repeatedly. He did not feel any insult in it and did not feel ashamed of it.

1. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, pp.103-106.

He loved them all the more and his faith in them increased every day. It remained a desire in his heart that someone might help him in securing an interview with them. For that purpose he promised huge prizes to the people. I and other closely related persons did not like the fact that while both the saints allowed paupers and beggars to enter their houses they did not allow the Amir-ul Muminin to get in. One day I was sitting with the Khalifa that Qazi Abu Yusuf came in. The Amir-ul Muminin asked him, "Can you secure me an interview with Da'ud Tai. I have learnt that both of you have jointly studied with Abu Hanifa". Abu Yusuf replied "When I was a poor man he used to visit my house. When I became Qazi I called twenty times at his house but he did not call me in." On hearing this, said the Khalifah,

"my faith in him has increased all the more."¹

Iltutmish was so much pleased with this gift that he wanted to bestow on Qazi Jalal a moiety of his dominions.² Thus Iltutmish was a great religious figure of his age. His religious reputation had travelled far and wide. Every section of the Muslim religious classes held him in high esteem. When Iltutmish ruled over Delhi, hundreds of Muslim divines and saints poured into this country in unending succession from the Central Asian lands. Iltutmish welcomed them and showed them great hospitality. He is said to have gone out for miles to receive these saints.³

1. K.A. Nizami, "Studies of Medieval Indian Hist. Culture, "p.37.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.25.

When Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar reached Delhi from Multan Iltutmish gave a hearty welcome to him. Later on when Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi came to Delhi from Baghdad Iltutmish went out to receive him and no sooner had he seen the Sheikh than he got down from his horse and ran towards him.¹

Iltutmish also appointed these distinguished foreign scholars on important posts. He appointed Haji Mujaud-din, a disciple of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy to the post of Sadr-i-Wilayat². He twice requested Khwaja Ahmad father

1. K.A. Nizami, "Studies in Medieval Hist. & Culture, p.25.

2. Ibid, p.25.

of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya to accept the Qaziship of Badaun but he declined.¹

Iltutmish with his deep and profound faith in religion and his desire to promote and patronize scholars and saints, did sometimes use religion and his relations with religious classes, as an instrument for the realization of his political purposes. As the saints wielded great influence over the masses in those days, Iltutmish's contact with them enhanced his prestige and helped him in consolidating his power. But at the same time his respect for the Caliph and his desire for his recognition as the Sultan by the Caliph was genuine.

1. K.A. Nizami, "Studies in Medieval Hist. & Culture, p.25.

Chapter - II

Successors of Iltutmish - The Development in their
foreign Policy

CHAPTER -II

By the end of the twelfth century the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia was a significant development and the foreign policy of the early Turkish Sultans was mainly directed ~~against~~ ^{against the mongols as} discussed in the previous chapter, it was a menacing problem and Sultan Iltutmish's policy viz. a viz the Mongols had three distinct phases. In the beginning of his reign when the Mongol danger loomed large on the Indian horizon Iltutmish adopted a policy of aloofness diplomacy and appeasement. But after the death of the Mongol leader Chengiz Khan, Iltutmish seemed to have taken to resistance against the Mongols.

The year following the death of Iltutmish in 1236 A.D. saw great turmoil and unrest within the Sultanate of Delhi. The weakness

of the Crown and the supremacy of the Turkish slave officers was the main feature of the struggle during this period. Ziauddin Barani, our main historian for this period rightly observes, "During the reign of Shamsuddin (Iltutmish) Maliks and famous Amirs who had been administrators and leaders for years along with wazirs and perons of distinction fled (from their own countries) to the court of Shamsuddin from fear of the massacre and killings of Ghengiz Khan, the accursed Mongol and owing to the presence of these fearless maliks, wazirs and persons of distinction, who were not only free born, men of noble and distinguished lineage but were also educated, wise and capable, the court of Sultan Shamsuddin had become stable like the court of Sultan Mahmud and Sanjar¹"

1. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Vol. III, Eng. trans. Elliot & Dowson, p.98.

But after the death of Iltutmish, the competency of his successor's and the predominance of Shamsi slaves, left no dignity with the Crown and the court of Shamsuddin was now a thing of no value.¹

Minhaj-us Siraj another great historian of this period testifies Barani's assertion in his chapter "Shamsi Maliks "². It was during this period of chaos and turmoil within the Delhi Sultanate that we find the Qarlugh rulers, who had previously paid allegiance to Iltutmish, started extending his political sway and influence over a fairly large area in the north-west frontier. He had even assume

1. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Vol. III, Eng. trans. Elliot & Dowson, p.98.
2. Tabagat-i Nasiri, eng. trans. by Raverty, Vol.I ,pp. 719-99.

the royal title and had coins struck in his name.¹ He had even become covetous of the Sind and Punjab regions.² He had already established control over the Kuh-i Jud (salt range) region and the Hindu Rais of the Koh Paya (foot hills of the eastern Punjab Himalayas) paid allegiance to him instead of the Sultan of Delhi. This development seemed to have taken place probably with the backing of the Mongols as the relation of the Qarlugh ruler with the mongols were more than cordial at this time. Some times in 1236-37 A.D. Hasan Qarlugh marched with a strong army towards the city of Uchch held by Malik Saifuddin Aibek, the Muqta of Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz Shah, son

1. Cf. I.H. Siddiqui, "The Qarlugh Kingdom in the North-West India during the 13th Century" Proceedings of IHC, Hyderabad, April, 1980.

2. Ibid.

of Iltutmish. Hasan Qarlugh hoped for an easy victory but he had underrated Saifudding Aibek who marched out of Uchch with a well-equipped army and defeated the Qarlughs who took to flight.¹

Emphasizing the importance of this victory achieved during the reign of Sultan Ruknuddin Minhaj states that it not only enhanced the prestige of the Delhi Sultan but also frightened the internal enemies of the Sultan who after Iltutmish's death had begun to raise their heads and entertain designs to become independent of the centre.²

1. Raverty II, pp. 730-31.

2. Ibid.

But again after two years the relations of the Qarlughs with the Mongols became strained the Qarlugh ruler fled towards Multan. According to the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri Hasan Qarlugh who was left untouched by the Mongols in Binban on the condition that he will pay an annual tribute to them was suddenly attacked by the Mongols in 1238. A.D. The flight of Hasan Qarlugh towards Multan meant the appearance of Mongols in that region . At this juncture the Qarlugh ruler is said to have sought an alliance with Sultan Razia (1237-40) who was ruling the Sultanate at this time, against the Mongols. Hasan Qarlugh sent his son to the court of Sultan Razia. She received him Kindly and

even gave him the revenues of Baran for his expenses but she refused an anti-Mongol alliance with the Qarlughs.

Thus, an analysis of the Indo-Qarlugh as well as Qarlugh-Mongol relations is essential in order to understand the developments that took place in the diplomatic circles of Delhi and Central Asia.

Although the conquest of northern India was not the Mongol objective at this time but since plundering was their regular source of income, the Mongols carried on predatory incursions into the border territories of India, looted property and made people captives. The

accounts of Minhaj-us Siraj,¹ Amir Khusro,² Isami³ and Barani⁴ are full of descriptions of atrocities perpetrated by the Mongols of India. When the Mongol armies appeared "the cloud of dust eclipsed the sun."⁵

These incursions of Mongols often unleashed a reign of terror. During the fierce and violent Mongol raids on Uchch and Multan in 1258 A.D. the whole area including the countryside was over-run and peasants holdings were

1. Tabaqat-i- Nasiri.

2. Khazain-ul Futuh

3. Futuh-us Salatin

4. Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi

5. Isami, p.460.

ruined.¹ These reprisals often forced people to leave their home town and wander in wild^{er}ness. After the havoc caused by the Mongols, inflationary conditions usually developed.³

When Sultan Muizuddin Bahram Shah ascended the throne, the most significant event of his reign was the evacuation of Lahore by Ikhtiyaruddin Karakush governor of Lahore in December 1244 A.D. and its sack by the Mongols.⁴ The Mongol commander at this time was Bahadur Tair Minhaj-us Siraj who has referred to this event in detail attributes it to the uncooperative attitude

1. Barani, p.269.

2. Barani, pp. 128-129.

3. Ibid.

4. Tabaqat-i Nasir, Eng. trans. by Raverty, Vol. II, p. 1133.

of the merchants and traders of Lahore and secondly to the Delhi army which was dissatisfied with the reigning monarch. "Most of the inhabitants of the city were merchants and leaders and had undertaken journeys during the time of the Mughals into the Upper parts into Khurasan and Turkistan and by way of precaution every one of them had obtained a pass from the Mughal, and a safe conduct and knowing this in defending and fighting for the safety of Hisar of Lahore, they used not to act in Unison with Malik Karakush and would neither render assistance nor make resistance nor encounter the enemy".¹

The Mongols had destroyed and massacred the inhabitants of the city of Lahore but a large

1. Reverty, Vol.II , p. 1133.

number of Mongols were also killed. According to Minhaj "such a large number of Mongols went to hell as cannot be computed or numbered about. There was not a person in the infidel army that did not bear the wound of arrow."¹

The Mongols retreated after the sack of Lahore which was reoccupied by Malik Karakush who returned after the departure of the Mongols. In Qaraqorum the Mongol leader Ogdei (Uktae Khan) died soon after the sack of Lahore and according to the Mongol Yasas no expedition could be

1. Reverty, Vol.II, p. 1135.

undertaken for one and a half year (three years according to the Mongol calender) after the Qa'an's death.¹ We do not come across any Mongol invasion till 1244-45 A.D. when the Mongols attacked the town of Uchch during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah son of Ruknuddin Firoz Shah and grandson of Iltutmish.

Meanwhile Hasan Qarlugh is reported to have invaded Multan several times³ during this

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1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. Trans. Reverti. Raverty, Vol. II, p. 1144.
 2. Ibid., pp.1154-6
Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, trans, and Comm. ed. Agha Mahdi Husain, p.253.
 3. Prof. I.H.Siddiqui 'The Qarlugh Kingdom in N.W. India during the 13th Century, I.C. Vol. LIV, No.2, 1980.

period since there was a little respite from the Mongols. However in 1245 A.D. he fled from Multan on the appearance of the Mongols. The Mongols laid seige to the town of Uchch and plundered it's environs. The people of Uchch successfully defended the city and killed the Mongols in large numbers.¹ At this time Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah was advised by Naib-i Mamlakat Ulugh Khan² to march towards Multan against the Mongols. But the idea behind this campaign was not to fight with the enemy but to

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Raverty, Vol. II, pp.1155-56.

2. Later on Sultan Balban.

frighten them and make them retreat from Multan. This was what Ulugh Khan had planned and fortunately his plan succeeded. As soon as the Mongols heard about the advance of the Delhi Sultan with a large army they raised the seige and returned to Khurasan.¹ Isami supplements this but according to him "Sultan Alauddin Masud marched his army from Delhi, defeated the troops of the Mongols infidels and captured many of them."² Isami also adds that "after coming back into the city he abandoned justice since he had become conceited through routing the Mongol infidels."³

1. Tabagat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Raverty, Vol. II, p. 1150.

2. Futuh-us Salatin, trans, and commentary by Aga Mehdi Hussain, pp. 253.

3. Ibid.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud ascended the throne of Delhi in 1246 A.D. The brain behind his policies and decisions regarding the administration of the empire was his Naib-i Mamlakat, Ulugh Khan . Among other things it was his policy to take the Sultan with the royal standards for the winter campaign against the Mongols, independent Hindu chiefs or rebellious Maliks. By doing this he always kept the army full prepared both mentally and physically to fight back whenever the occasion demanded. And at that time keeping the army always ready became a necessity due to the danger of the Mongols and their repeated invasions on the Indian borders. Minhaj-us Siraj, has given the account of the events of Sultan Nasiruddin's

reign year by year, for the first fifteen years. The details furnished by other contemporary writers about the Mongol throne in Qaraqorum say that at that time not only the Qarlugh rulers but even the Muslim rulers of Herat were with the Mongol army under the leadership of the Nu-yin Sali.

The author of Tarikh-i Nama-i Hirat¹ supplements Minhaj by informing that in 1246 A.D. Malik Shamsuddin and the Mongol general Nu-Yin Sali marched towards Hindustan. They laid seige to the city of Multan which was held by Jankar Khan the slave of Sultan Iltutmish. At this juncture the author also informs us about the

1. Haravi, Tarikh-i Nama-i Hirat, Calcutta, 1944, pp.157-8.

help sought by the Delhi Mughla, Jankar Khan of the Suhrawardi saint Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria. On the fourteenth day of the seige Jankar Khan sent Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria to persuade the Mongol leader to accept money and leave Multan. His visit had the desired effect and on his persuasion Nu-Yin Sali collected on hundred thousand dinars and then went to Lahore where he extorted 30,000 dinars, thirty ass loads of soft goods (cloth) and hundred captives.¹ These details have been suppressed by Minhaj probably to feed the vanity of his patron.

By the end of 1250 A.D. we find that there arose a situation in the Delhi Sultanate in which there started a struggle among the Turkish

1. Haravi, Tarikh-i Nama-i Hiraat, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 157-8.

slave officers and there was a split in the nobility. There arose two rival groups and each tried to take the Sultan under its respective control. This situation resulted in the flight of Princes and other political dignitaries to the Mongol court. Whenever Ulugh Khan's group succeeded in winning over the Sultan the other group of Qatlugh Khwaja and Balban Kishlu sought protection and alliance of the Mongols and Vice-versa. Hence Mongols had become the only resort of the flying princes and Turkish officers. This ⁱⁿ turn gave rise to the establishment of Mongol vassal states of Lahore, Multan and Sind.

The first Delhi prince who paid a visit to Mangu Khan the Mongol ruler. Prince Jalal was the son of Iltutmish who fell out with Sultan



Nasiruddin Mahmud in 1248 A.D. and fled away from his iota of Sambhal and Badaun to Central Asia.¹ Minhaj omit the fact of his going to the court of the Mongol ruler but Rashiduddin Fazlullah gives additional information about the Prince. According to him Prince Jalal Khan reached Qaraqorum in 1235 A.D. He was soon followed by Sher Khan Sungar (mentioned by Rashiduddin as Sher Khan). Mongke ² treated Jalal Khan with honour and ordered his general Salih Bahadur along with other officers

1. Tabaqat-i Nasir, Eng. trans. Raverty,
Vol. I, p. 684.

2. Mangu Khan.

to help him against his enemies.¹

Prince Jalal accompanied by Sali Bahadur who had also taken with him the Qarlugh ruler Nasiruddin Muhammad, entered Lahore and drove away the Delhi mugta from the iqtas of Lahore and Jalandhar and installed Prince Jalal there. The latter assumed the title of Sultan Jalaluddin Masud Shah and ruled over the vast region of Punjab as a Mongol vassal.²

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1. Jami-ut Tawarikh, f. 38a. History of India, Rashiduddin Fazlullah edited by Karl Jahn, Hague, 1965, p.72 .
 2. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Raverty, Vol. II, pp. 699-700, for the assumption of the title Sultan Jalaudding Masud Shah by Prince Jalal. History of India, ed. by Karl Jahn, 1965, p.72.

The contemporary European traveller Rubruquis confirms this statement of Rashiduddin. He says that "About the 15th of June 1254 A.D. when Ka-an held a great assembly at Karakorum at which a number of ambassadors attended, he noticed the ambassador from the Sultan of Delhi. This could be no other than Prince Jalal and his Party of Sher Khan Sungar, for it is quite certain that no ambassador was ever sent from India by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah.¹

Hence, throughout the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud we find that whenever any prince or noble fell out with the Sultan he went and

1. Tabagat-i Nasiri , Eng. trans. Raverty, Vol.II, p. 1225, f.n.1, para 2.

sought alliance of the Mongols. In 1254 A.D. Ulugh Khan and his faction were completely overshadowed by the other rival faction of Qatlugh Khwaja and Kishlu Khan who came closer to the Sultan, Ulugh Khan along with his cousin Sher Khan Sungar and Sultan Jalauddin Masud Shah marched from Lahore against the royal army of Delhi. But a direct confrontation between the two armies was avoided by the intervention of certain nobles which resulted in a compromise between the Sultan and Ulugh Khan¹. This development annoyed Sultan Jalaluddin Masud Shah and he fell deceived by Ulugh Khan and his cousin Sher Khan Sungar, because they had promised him the throne of Delhi.² Jalaluddin Masud Shah,

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Raverty, Vol. II, p. 794.

2. Ibid.

however, returned to reign till 1266 A.D. In the same year Sher Khan was assigned the charge of the iqta of Tabarhinda, but in 1258 A.D., this iqta was taken away from him and he was assigned the iqtas of Gwalior, Bayana, Jalesar and Kol. This was done in view that there was hostility between Sher Khan and Jalaluddin Masud Shah as Sher Khan wanted to occupy Lahore. Hence, there was a possibility of his attack on Lahore which in turn could invite the Mongols to help their vassal.¹

The other noble of the Delhi Sultanate who declared his independence and became the Mongol vassal was malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan, rival of Ulugh Khan. He was the mugta of Sind and Multan. After the eclipse of his allies and the

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Raverty,
Vol. II, p. 794.

ascendency of Ulugh Khan and his party at the Delhi Court he sent his officer Malik Shamsuddin Ghorī to Iran for an alliance with Hulaku, brother of Mangu Khan¹. There arose an understanding between Hulaku and Kishlu Khan who accepted a Mongol Shahna at court. He even sent his grandson to Iran as his Wakil.² On the other hand Ulugh Khan who had become the defacto ruler of the Delhi Sultanate decided to weaken the Mongol influence on the Indian territory through his diplomacy. He entered into a secret alliance with Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad Qarlugh and with his help concluded a peace pact with Hulaku³ in 1258 A.D. Minhaj-us Siraj furnishes interesting information with details of the arrival of emissaries from the court of Hulaku to Delhi in 1259 A.D. This provided a clue to the secret alliance between Ulugh

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Eng. trans. Revert, Vol. II, p. 794.

2. Revert Vol. II p. 794.

3. Cf. K.A. Nizami "Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century."

Khan and Nasiruddin Qarlugh.¹ The contemporary historian tried to create an impression that the Sultan of Delhi could not wish to improve his relationship with the Mongols who were the enemy of Islam and who had killed the Caliph of Baghdad. But the circumstances took such a turn that the undesirable happened. When the emissaries from the Mongol court visited India, the Sultan of Delhi eager to win the friendship of a powerful neighbour, accorded a royal reception to them. "More than two lacks footmen and fifty thousand horsemen linked up the entire route from the town of Kilugarhi to the royal

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1. Cf. K.A. Nizami "Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century.

palace while twenty rows of spectators and officials assembled there to wel-come the emissaries.¹ " The Court chronicle would have us believe that all this was done to impress the Mongols with the glory and greatness of the Sultan of Delhi but to please the Mongol ruler was an equally strong reason for the welcome given to them.²

This gesture of the Sultan had the desired effect and Hulaku reciprocated by warming his soldier's "If the hoof of your horse enters the dominion of Sultan Nasiruddin all the four

1. Tabaqat-i Nasiri, pp. 317-39.
Perishta, p.73, Cf. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics during the 13th century, p.333.

2. Ibid.

legs of the horse shall be cut off.¹"After this we do not find any Mongol incursion till Sultan Nasiruddin's death in 1266-67 A.D.

Among other problems which Balban had to face on his accession was the Mongol problem which guarded him from following an expansionist policy. Though a thorough imperialist he followed a policy of consolidation only.² Hulaku was dead and the Mongol danger was again looming large on the Indian frontier. Being a seasoned statesman Balban carefully watched the activities of the

1. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics During the 13th century, p.333.

2. Ibid.

Mongols and diverted all the resources of the empire towards the protection of his frontiers.¹ He supervised the defence measures personally and was well-aware of the activities of the Mongols. "He used to go out every day upto Riwari under the pretext of military exercise and hunting excursions."² Reports of hunting expeditions of the Sultan were carried to Hulaku at Baghdad and he said "Balban is a strewd ruler and has had much experience in government. He goes out apparently to hunt..... but really to exercise his men and horses so that they may not be wanting when times of danger and war arrive".³ Unlike the

1. Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Eng. trans. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III p. 102.

2. Ibid. p.103

3. Ibid. p.103

previous Sultans it was Balban's desire to strengthen his defence machinery. For this he even appointed his son prince Muhammad as the warden of marches.¹ By appointing his son on the frontiers Balban wanted to eliminate the Mongol influence from those territories.

But Balban had to pay a heavy price for such a policy towards the Mongols. He lost his son Muhammad in this struggle with the Mongols. But at the same time his prestige inside as well as outside India was considerably enhanced.

1. Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Eng. trans. Elliot and Dowson, Vol..III p.103.

Besides Balban had adopted a number of measures to safeguard his frontiers. In 1270 A.D., he got the fort of Lahore reconstructed and the villages and areas which had been destroyed and depopulated by the Mongols, were re-habilitated. The territories of Lahore, Sunam, Samana, Multan, Dipalpur and Uchch were always in the hands of the Sultan Balban's officers. He had first appointed Tamar Khan,¹ the governor of Sunam and Samana, put keeping in mind the examples of Kishlu Khan and Sher Khan (who had seeked help from the Mongols) the transferred these two provinces to his second son Bughra Khan on whose activities he always kept Barids.²

1. A distinguished Member of the favourite "Forty" (Chihalgani) Turks.

Throughout the whole of early Turkish period we find that the foreign policy of the Sultanate was mainly directed against the Mongols whose regular and irksome incursions on the Sultanate of Delhi had destroyed the peace and prosperity of the country and had considerably disturbed its inhabitants. It is worth asking how the Turks whose extra ordinary Indian conquests attributed to their personal valour, military superiority and strategy were themselves surpassed by the Mongols. Not only in physical appearance but also in their ferocious capacity of warfare, the Mongols had totally be numbered the spirit of the Indians. Isami says that the arrival of the Mongol troops and their crossing Indus had almost always resulted in "The vanishing of conceit" from the minds of the Delhi Sultans¹. A gallant ruler like

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin.

Balban expressed in inability to undertake large scale conquests just because "these (Mongols) have set their hearts conquering and plundering India-twenty year passes that an Year does not pass peacefully when they do not come here and plunder the villages. They watch the opportunity of my departure on a distant campaign to enter my cities and ravage the whole Doab. They even talk about the conquest and sack of Delhi. I have developed all the revenues of my kingdom to the equipment of my army and I had all my forces ready and prepared to receive them".¹

1. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Vol. I ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1957 p.59 Eng. trans. , Elliot & Dowson, History of India, III, Allahabad ed. p. 102.

Another occasion Balban openly confessed that but for the Mongols he would have pursued a vigorous expansionst policy. That he was forced to perform simply police functions and defensive role due to the Mongol pressure on the north-west frontier.¹ When Balban's general Adil Khan and Tamar Khan suggested to him the conquest of Gujarat, Malwa and other provinces of Hindustan which had been under the sway of Aibek and Sultan Iltutmish, Balban thus stated his policy ; "It will be not an act of wisdom to leave Delhi and go on distant campaigns in these days of turmoil and insecurity, when the Mongols have occupied all the lands of Islam devastated Lahore and made it a point to invade our country once every year. Maintaining

1. Barani Trans Elliot and Dowson III p. 98.

peace and consolidating our power in our own kingdom is far better than invading other territories while our own dominion is insecure. Further the new conquered areas will require competent officers and well equipped armies which I am unable to spare at the moment". The accounts of Minhaj-us Siraj, Amir Khusro, Isami and Barani are full of descriptions of atrocities perpetrated by the Mongols in India. When the Mongol Armies appeared "the clouds of dust eclipsed the Sun", they indulged in raids enroute and surrounded Delhi like "thorns hedging a garden."¹ Isami, further records how their advance spelt destruction to all the places they visited and admits that when Qatlugh Khwaja's "terrible but graceless" army proceeded towards India in successive groups and when they crossed the river Indus", the fortress

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p. 460.

of every part of the country began to tremble in spite of the preparations that have been made for defence."¹ To add to the discomfiture Qatlugh Khwaja had even threatened Zafar Khan that "this time I will work the same havoc in India as autumn wind-works in a garden."²

Barani describes in 1285 A.D. the incursion of the Mongols on Lahore and Dipalpur which unleashed a reign of terror. On a similar occasion during the fierce and violent raids on Multan and Uchch in 1258 A.D. "the whole area

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p.428.

2. Ibid. p. 430.

including the countryside was over-run and peasants' holding were ruined.¹ "These reprisals often force people to leave their home town² and wander in wildness. It was customary that while marching the Mongols always plundered villages and carried away captives and heavy booty and war equipments, their cavalrymen had to march on foot. While their horses carried the load of their plunder. The horses were so overburdened with the loot that they "would hardly move freely and stumbled ten times in the way³". After the havoc wrought by the Mongols "inflationary conditions usually developed."⁴

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p. 269

2. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p.130.

3. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p.272.

4. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p.85.

The Mongols, however could not always succeed in having their way. They had to face defeat, also and suffer reprisals at the hands of Indian warriors. Amir Khusro who had once fallen in the captivity of the Mongols boasts how "the bones of Mongols were ground to powder" and Targhi's "bold head on the spears of the Champion of Islam" looked like a wine cup place over a ladle.¹ Isami also rejoices when the mongols are turned out of the country like the "owls turned out of a garden."²

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1. Amir Khusro, Khazin-ul Futuh, Eng. trans. by M.Habib, Madras, 1931, p.24.
 2. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p.378.

While summing up the Mongol Problem and the relations of the early Turkish rulers with the mongols. We may say that during the 13th century the mongol danger was the most baffling problem and it left its impact on every aspect of Indian life-social, economic or political.

For nearly a century the Mongols dominated the Indian political scene directly or indirectly. The Mongol invasions posed a constant threat to the infant Sultanate of Delhi and the Delhi Sultans were often puzzled as to what method and strategy should be adopted so as to discourage the Mongols finally.¹ Those who were successful in "routing" the

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p.207

"Mongols infidels " often prided in themselves. Isami describes how Sultan Alauddin bin Ruknuddin "abandoned justice" since he had become "conceited" through routing mongol infidels.¹ Balban openly confessed that but for the Mongols he would have followed a vigorous expansionist policy. The decision of Iltutimish to avoid a direct confrontation with the Mongols by refusing to give asylum to Jalaluddin Mangbarni had determined the direction of the policy of the early Turkish Sultans towards the Mongols. This was based on grim political realism. Not only in the north-west frontier did Iltutmish avoid consolidation and expansion till

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p. 266.

Chengiz Khan was alive but even on the domestic scene but he did not consolidate his power as long as Changiz Khan was alive for he had many rivals and there was always the danger of their alliance with the Mongols or their desire to send an invitation to Chengiz Khan for invading India. We find that whenever there is even a slight news of any Mongol civil war or any other preoccupation of the Mongols in Central Asia, the Delhi Sultans at once taking advantage of his opportunity started consolidating their power and suppressing the rebels within the empire.¹

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1. In the second regnal year of Sultan Nasiruddins' reign we see that Ulugh Khan (the defacto ruler of the Sultanate) on getting the news of Mongol civil war decided a campaign in Doab. Cf. Habib & Nizami's "Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 258.

The early Turkish rulers therefore guarded their foreign policy keeping in view the Mongol danger which loomed large on the Indian horizon. Thus Mongol problem determined their theories of Kingship, limited their expansionist policies, moulded their economic policies and excersised far reaching influence on the administrative structure of the Delhi Sultanate.

CHAPTER -III

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF ALLAUDDIN KHALJI

Chapter - III

Almost simultaneously when Allauddin was¹ working out the revenue policies in India Ghazan Khan had initiated revenue regulations in Iran. Sultan Allauddin Khalji was probably the first Sultan of Delhi who felt the contacts with the world outside was necessary in order to maintain the political stability within the Sultanate as well as to deal effectively with the Mongol pressure on the frontiers of Hindustan. His desire to maintain diplomatic relations with the Il-khans was the result of his failure to control the frequent Mongol invasions which had shattered the economy of the Sultanate as well as made Hindustan politically insecure. By maintaining friendly relations with the Il-khans he wanted to acquire the knowledge of the Mongol military strategy and reorganise his army on the Mongol pattern.

1 Il-khanid Ruler of Persia - A Contemporary of Sultan Allauddin Khalji.

In the second regnal year of Sultan Allauddin's reign and inroad of Mughals (Mongols) had crossed the river Sind and proceeded towards Delhi.¹ While the Sultan prepared to march against the invaders, the Kotwal of Delhi Ala-ul Mulk, who was the Sultan's confidential advisor also is said to have given him the following advice.

"Ancient Monarchs and former Prime-ministers, who have held sway and sovereignty over the world have invariably abstained and refrained altogether from tremendous conflicts, in which it is impossible to decide what may happen at any precise moment, as to which side victory is likely to incline, and with respect to encounters between equally powerful chiefs, where by the State and prosperity of the sovereign

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Eng. trans. by Fuller and Khallique, p. 28.

as well as the whole population of the Kingdom are placed in jeopardy, they have recommended that they should be avoided to, the utmost extent of one's power and ability yet in the case of conflicts between equally powerful chiefs, when a kingdom is staked on a single throw of dice, monarchs have always exercised the utmost discretion, and have warded off the event as long as they could by sound judgement and clever diplomacy. Why does your Majesty then purposely and wilfully, and without paying any heed or attention enter into a perilous crises, that has ever been avoided by the other Monarchs as far as possible.¹

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Eng. trans. Fuller and Khalique, pp. 29-30.

Allauddin Khalji though fought this battle against the Mongols but he agreed with the Kotwal that a sensible monarch should consider diplomatic attitude also as a weapon against a formidable enemy such as the Mongols.¹ He replied, "As for what you say about the ideas you entertain on the subject of preventing these invasions of the Mughals as soon as I am at leisure from this war and have fulfilled all the duties attending it, I will listen to these ideas of yours."²

Although Barani has mentioned this incident in detail in his Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, where a Sultan is supposed to adopt sometimes a diplomatic attitude towards the rival power but we do not find

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, Eng. trans. by Fuller and Khalique, p. 35.

2 Ibid.

much reference in Barani about the subsequent diplomatic relations of Sultan Allauddin Khalji with the Il-khanid rulers of Central Asia.

The other Indian historians also are silent over the exchange of embassies between Delhi Sultan and his Il-khanid contemporary. It is very strange that this very important phase of Sultan Allauddin's reign does not find space in the writings of the historians of that period. The coming of the Persian envoy Rashiduddin Fazlullah, his relations with the Alai Court which covered many spheres - literary, economic, cultural as well as diplomatic are not mentioned by either Barani, Isami or any other contemporary historian. Later Mughal historian Abul Fazl makes a casual reference to Rashiduddin's visit as an envoy to the Court of Sultan Mubarak Khalji (1316-1320).¹

¹ A'in-i Akbari, ed. Sir Syed, Vol. II, p. 200.

Among the non-Indian historian, we have Wassaf, who refers to the visit of Rashiduddin as well as the relations of the Il-khans with the Sultans of Delhi but the information supplied by Wassaf is very meagre. However a careful study of Rashiduddin Fazlullah's own works - his chapter on India in 'Jami ut-Tawarikh'¹ as well as his collection of letters help us in understanding the relations between the Delhi Court and the Il-khanid empire. The purpose of Rashiduddin's visit to India can also be known from one of his letters which he wrote from Multan to a friend in Shiraz² Maulana Qutbuddin Masud.

The letter written between 1304-1316, says that he was sent to India by the Il-khanid ruler Sultan Uljaitu (1304-1316). The purpose of his visit was twofold. First to impress upon the rulers

1 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, pp. 160-61.

2 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, Letter No. XXIX, pp. 163-64.

of India the Majesty of the Il-khans and secondly to procure certain herbs and drugs which were not found in Iran. He writes, "So that the attribute of the Majesty of Il-khans and the details of their valour be conveyed to the ears of the rulers of the great cities and districts of that region and they might be brought to the yoke of submission and path of friendship. The other purpose was to procure efficacious medicines and wholesome drugs which are as rare in the lands of Iran as imaginary geometrical drawings and alchemy and the fabulous¹ bird."

The Persian envoy was given a very warm welcome and the Sultan treated him with generosity beyond his expectations. It appears that Rashiduddin came to India during the early part of his reign because we find that Rashiduddin did not approve of the convival parties of the Alai Court.

1 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, Letter No. XXIX, pp. 163-64.

On one occasion he could not help advising the Sultan about the evils of drunkenness. This un-asked for advice from a foreign envoy could create an unpleasant situation but according to Rashid-uddin Fazlullah the Sultan patiently listened to his advice.¹ Although we do not know the exact date when Sultan Allauddin Khalji issued prohibitory orders but according to Barani,² Isami³ and Yahiya⁴ Sirhindi the Sultan did enforce these measures rigorously.

1 Op.Cit., K.A. Nizami, "On History and Historians of Medieval India", p. 96.

2 Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 284.

3 Futuh-us Salatin, pp. 314-15.

4 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, pp. 74-75.

Allauddin Khalji was so much impressed by the Persian envoy that he assigned Rashiduddin Fazlullah 4 villages as ¹Suyurghal. The area of each of these villages according to Rashiduddin was greater than the city of Yezd.² Over and above this land grant Rashiduddin was to receive an annual stipends (idrar) of 5000 misgals of gold (Dar-i Alai) and something³ from the revenues of Gujarat to be given to him.

We do not however get this information of land grant to the Persian envoy from any other source. So a number of problems arise in this connection. First of all, the use of the term 'Suyurghal' is unusual. Allauddin Khalji is believed to be a close-fisted monarch and as such

1 Mukatabat-i Rashidi - pp. 166-67

2 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, pp. 166-67.

3 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, pp. 166-67.

lavish land grants were certainly against this nature looking at his economic regulations such a grant was against his policy. Secondly the question of giving the revenues from Gujarat does not arise as Gujarat was not annexed to the Sultanate till that time. Both Isami and Amir Khusro say that Gujarat was annexed to Delhi Sultanate after the second invasion under¹ the command of Alp Khan.

Thirdly the arrangement for these revenues to be sent outside India also seems to be unusual. It appears from a letter of Rashiduddin Fazlullah which he wrote to one Mahmud Sawji to look after his² Indian property. Another letter to his son to provide all possible facilities to Mahmud Sawji on his journey to India to Sultan Allauddin Khalji to collect money

1 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, pp.259-262.

from his Indian estates.¹ According to Professor K.A. Nizami, the Khwaja (Rashiduddin) mentions his Indian property in his Wasiyat Nama.²

When Rashiduddin embarked upon his return journey Sultan Allauddin gave him a large number of gifts and presents and asked him to send one of his sons to him. "I want", he said, "that you send one of your sons noted for bravery, courage and ingenuity to me so that I may give him the control of the affairs of my country just as the lands of Iran is under your control."³ The Sultan also assured him that he would take full care of his son and then significantly remarked. "In this

1 Letter No. 43 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, pp. 259-262.

2 Op.cit., K.A. Nizami, 'On History and Historians of Medieval India', p. 103.

3 Op.cit., K.A. Nizami, 'On History and Historians of Medieval India,' p. 96.

way affectionate and cordial relations will be¹
 established and maintained for ever.

The Mukatabat-i Rashidi also contains a letter sent by Sultan Allauddin Khalji to Rashiduddin Fazlullah in reply to his communication. It appears from this letter that Allauddin had requested Rashiduddin to intervene and improve the diplomatic relations between India and Persia. Allauddin writes, "I was trying to cheer up my heart by having a look at the meadow but my heart was far from being delighted. Quite unexpectedly your messenger arrived, as the sun emerges from east and gave me your letter which delighted me² and its contents relieved me of my worries.

1 Op.cit., K.A. Nizami, 'On History And Historians of Medieval India', p. 96.

2 Mukatabat-i Rashidi, Letter No. 47.

This letter was more than a purely formal expression of good wishes on the receipt of a letter. We do not know why Allauddin was worried but an impending mongol invasion from Central Asia may have been the cause of the Sultan's worry.¹ This letter was accompanied by a number of gifts which included cloth, precious stones and rubies, animals and birds, confectionary herbs and medicines, spices, oils, China vessels, building wood and ivory bones etc. This list of commodities sent as gifts to the Persian envoy gives a good idea of Indian goods which had special significance and charm for a foreigner.

In this letter Allauddin had also apologized for the delay in replying to the Persian envoy's communication. "I felt ashamed writes Allauddin "to send a letter which from the point

1 R. Levy's article in JRAS, 1946. Part I and 2, pp. 74-78.

of view of style could not be compared to your consummate and masterly diction."

The authenticity of this letter has been¹ doubted by R. Levy. According to him these letters bear evidence of very dubious authenticity and so any importance attached to their collection is precarious. According to him these letters lack the characteristic marks of Rashiduddin's style and language which has been found in his Jami-ut-Tawarikh. But Prof. K.A. Nizami does not seem to agree to Levy's view. According to him "these letters are so deeply soaked in Persian and Central Asian atmosphere that it is difficult to subscribe² to Levy's view." One possibility however, cannot be ruled out. As in the case of other works of Rashiduddin Fazlullah, this collection, then available in Arabic version might have suffered at the

1 R. Levy's article in JRAS, 1946, Part I and 2, pp. 74-78.

2 K.A. Nizami, "Rashiduddin Fazlullah and India", p. 47.

hands of the translators^{iter} who substituted a later terminology to make himself intelligible to the readers of his day. The possibility of certain interpolations cannot be ruled out. A careful study of the Collection leaves upon one's mind the impression of a genuine nucleus, disturbed here and there by ignorant copyists or less cautions translators^{iter}, or even by some interested persons.¹

The policy of winning goodwill and friendship of the Il-khan rulers appears to have been adopted by Sultan Allauddin Khalji during the early part of his reign. Among the non-² Indian contemporary sources we find Wassaf referring to an embassy sent from Persia to the Court of Sultan Allauddin Khalji in 1310-11 A.D.

1 K.A. Nizami, 'Rāshiduddin Fazlullah and India', in the Proceedings of the Colloquim on Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Tehran, 1971, p. 47.

2 Tarikh-i Wassaf, p. 528.

It was a time when Malik Kafur was carrying fire and sword into the south and Sultan Allauddin Khalji was heading the Khalji imperialism. The message brought from the Il-khan ruler Uljaitu was that Sultan of Delhi had always been on good-terms with the Il-khans but Sultan Allauddin had not send any communication or message to cement this old friendship and that it was time when old friendly relations should be revived.

In the message Sultan Uljaitu also suggested that a daughter of the Sultan of India may be given in marriage to the ruling Il-khan of Persia.¹

Allauddin Khalji who by now possessed vast treasures and who had made unprecedented conquests in the North and South considered the

1 Tarikh-i Wassaf, p. 528.

marriage proposal of Uljaitu as a deliberate insult to his dignity and not only imprisoned all the eighteen persons comprising the embassy but even ordered them to be crushed under the feet of the elephants. "By such flagrant undiplomatic act", says Wassaf, "he threw the pearl of his good name into the river of Nile."¹

But this is the only incident of its kind during the reign of Sultan Allauddin Khalji otherwise we have enough evidence regarding the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality within the two empires i.e. the Il-khans and the Delhi Sultans.

Between 1304 A.D. and 1316 A.D. there was the exchange of a number of embassies and ambassadors between Delhi and Iran. Wassaf says the

1 Tarikh-i Wassaf, p. 528.

Sultan Uljaitu had sent many envoys to the Court
of Sultan Allauddin Khalji.¹

While summing up the relations of Sultan Allauddin Khalji with the Il-khans we may say that Allauddin being a far sighted ruler perhaps felt that contacts with the Il-khanid ruler of Persia would help him in dealing with the Mongols of Central Asia and in acquiring knowledge of the Mongol methods of warfare, of which his armies were ignorant,² and therefore he cultivated relations with them, going a little out of his way also. With this view he accorded a warm welcome to their envoy, Rashiduddin Fazlullah and assigned to him some villages, the revenues of which were remitted³ to him in his homeland through reliable merchants.

1 Tarikh-i Wassaf, p. 528.

2 K.A. Nizami, Supplement Vol. III, p. 6.

3 Ibid.

Apart from everything else, in an age of the horse, the Sultans of Delhi could hardly afford to cut their contact with the horse breeding centres of Central Asia. This economic aspect of the diplomatic relations between the Delhi Sultans and the Il-khans is often ignored sight of The Tarikh-i-Ghazan Khan refers to the frequent visits of Indian traders to the lands of the Mongols.

He was sent by Sultan Uljaitu probably in 1316 A.D. Abul Fazl is our only source of information regarding the second visit of Rashid-¹uddin Fazlullah. The author of Masalik-ul Absar also refers to the visits of the envoys from Il-khanid court to the court of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji. One of them was Sharif Nasiruddin

1 A'in-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 200 (Delhi edition).

1
Muhammad Hussaini Al-Karimi known as Zumurridi.
The purpose and nature of his visit is however,
not known.

It appears that the relations of the
Delhi Sultans with the Il-khanid rulers of Persia
did not end with the death of Allauddin Khalji.
Khwaja Rashiduddin Fazlullah seems to have come
for a second time during the reign of Mubarak
Khalji.

1 Masalik-ul Absar (Eng. trans. by
O. Spies), p. 59.

Chapter - IV

Foreign Policy of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq

Chapter - IV

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was a remarkable man on several counts who adopted a foreign policy that had far reaching consequences. He was fully aware of the political developments in the neighbouring countries. The cornerstone of his foreign policy was to acquire effective control over the regions in the North-west of the river Indus for ensuring security to the people in the border areas against the Mongols from Central Asia, create friends among the rulers outside India and promote land and maritime trade between his sultanate and the foreign countries. The Sultan was successful, atleast in the field of foreign affairs. While Indian historians have given very little information about his contacts with foreign powers, the account of the Arab travellers and historians like Ibn Battuta, Al-Qal Qashandi, Shihabuddin Safadi,

Ibn-i Hajar Asqalani, and others throw valuable light on the foreign relations of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq. The relevant evidence available in these miscellaneous sources tends to show that as a result of his policy India's foreign relations expanded and its prestige greatly increased in the outside world.

In the present Chapter on Sultan Muhammad's diplomatic relations, the aim is to analyse the factors that influenced the foreign policy of the Sultan towards the Mongol rulers of the neighbouring countries, identify the regions of strategic importance that had become a bone of contention between the Sultan of Delhi and the Chaghtai rulers of Central Asia and then discuss

the establishment of friendship between India and Central Asia and its impact on the life and conditions in India.

None of the predecessors of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq seems to have given a serious thought to the problem of insecurity caused by Mongol raids and find out a parmanent solution to it. The Mongols had retained their military bases in the vast areas now included in the districts of Gujarat and Jhang in Pakistan and Sargodha in India. They would sneak in bands and take away women and children as captives from the frontier territories from time to time. Ibn-i Battuta states "They (the Mongols) continually make descents in India and carry off (their inhabitants) as captives or kill them. Sometimes they would take captive some of the Muslim women." The Arab

1 The Travels of Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. III,
 Eng. trans. Sir Hamilton Gibb, Cambridge
 1961, p. 578.

traveller is supported by Isami in this regard. Isami tells us in his account of the events that took place in the first year of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. He says, "The Mongols crossed the Indus, once every year and carried on¹ inside the Sultanate of Delhi."

Hence Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq seems to have attached greater importance to the defence of the frontier against the Mongols than to other state problems. We do find important references to his frontier and foreign policy both in the foreign and Indo-Persian sources.

The most important outcome of his foreign policy was that the rulers of Central Asia became either his vassals or allies after

1 Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, ed. Usha Madras 1948, pp. 423-24.

they had been impressed both by his power and munificence. First of all he decided to secure scientific frontiers for his Empire. For this purpose he planned to clean the areas of the Indus and the Himalayan kingdom, Qarajil and Kashmir and then sieze the region from Mongols upto the Hindu Kush mountains.

The contemporary historian, Isami tells us that after his accession to the throne, the first military campaign was led against the Mongol bases in the North-Western frontier region of his Empire. He moved at the head of a large army, stayed in Lahore from where the commanders first cleaned the region of Kalanaur of the Mongols, pursued the fugitive Mongols across the Indus, occupied the town of Farshaur (modern Peshawar) and took the Mongol women and children

as captives. The khutba was read in every town¹
in the name of the Sultan.

Isami also tells us of the March of the Delhi army towards Ghaznin but owing to lack of fodder for their animals as well as good grains for themselves they retreated and the Sultan after having liberated those territories returned to Delhi. Tarmashirin, the Mongol ruler of Central Asia whose generals were driven away from the Indian territories was not able to retaliate immediately because he was afraid of an invasion² of his territories by the Il-khanid ruler Abu Saeed.

1 Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, ed. Usha, Madras, 1948, pp. 423-24.

2 Cf. Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the Reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351), CAJ, Vol. XIX, No.1-2, 1975, p. 126.

Moreover , the presence of the Iranian General Hasan bin Choban in Ghaznin till 1326 seems to have delayed the Chaghtai ruler's retaliation in India. Upon the withdrawal of Hasan bin Choban from Ghaznin as well as taking the transfer of population from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1327 as a golden opportunity Tarmashirin with a large army entered India, carrying sword and fire on his way to Delhi. Isami, our contemporary authority informs that when the invader crossed the river Ravi, the Sultan was informed in Delhi about him. He at once came out from Delhi and encamped outside Siri where large force gathered in no time. Ten thousand sawars were detached and dispatched to Meerut under the command of Ibn Bughra who took the invader by surprise near Meerut and inflicted heavy losses on him. Having suffered setback in the first encounter with the Delhi army the invader started retreating. The Indian

army pursued him beyond the river Indus, sheed-
¹
 ing blood of the strugglers.

Isami's testimony about Tarmashirin's invasion of India is not acceptable to some writers. Agha Mahdi Hussain's view is that Tarmashirin never invaded India because Ibn-i-Battuta found him a friend of the Delhi Sultan in 1333 A.D. Hussain supports his hypothesis on Barani's omission of any kind of reference to this invasion in his Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi. According to him Barani, who served the Sultan for seventeen years as his Nadim (courtier) would not have failed to refer to this invasion, had it ever taken place.

1 Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, pp. 462-65.

As regards Barani's silence on this invasion in his Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, it is worth noting that the printed text of Barani's Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi is a revised version and he failed to refer to Tarmashirin's invasion in it, although he had mentioned it in some detail in the first unrevised version released two years earlier. The first recession of the Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi recently discovered comes to an end with the account of fourth regnal year of Sultan Firoz Shah's reign. In this recession Barani writes: "Upon the transfer of the citizens (from Delhi) to Daulatabad the Sultan stayed in Delhi for two years. During this time Tarmashirin marched against India at the head of a huge army. He arrived (without meeting any resistance) in the Mian-i Doab (Meerut), thereupon the Sultan collected his forces. In the meantime, the officers and notables from Lakhnauti (Bengal)

sought to go back to their region and foment trouble there. The Sultan fought a fierce battle against Tarmashirin. The latter having given a good account of fighting retreated to Tirmiz.¹"

It is not difficult to explain the reason for this omission by Barani in the second revised edition to his Tarikh. The fact that in the first edition he has praised Tarmashirin's generalship and has given a good account of the fighting ability of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq as well as his portrait as the dominant mind of his age. This accounts seems to have antagonized

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. Peter Hardy has pointed out in an article the difference in Barani's approach in two versions. Cf. Peter Hardy, Didactic Historical Writing in South Asian Islam. Ziya al-Din Barani's Treatment of the Reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Islam in Asia, Vol. I, (South Asia), ed. Friendmann, Jerusalem, 1984. Manuscript copy of first recession available in Raza Library-Rampur-India, No. 1846, pp. 287-88.

the reigning Sultan Firoz Tughluq under whose regime a reaction had already began against the policies of the preceeding regime. So it is likely that Barani may have omitted the mention of Tarmashirin's invasion in his revised version of Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi. That Tarmashirin did invade India during the early years of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign is mentioned not only by Isami, but also by another contemporary writer, the anonymous author of the Sirat-i Firoz Shahi. Later writers like Yahya Sirhindi have also made statements about the same event. They seem to have based their account on Barani's unrevised first recension. He provides us with some additional information. He says that "In the year 1328, Tarmashirin the King of Khurasan and the brother of Qatlugh Khwaja marched into the vilayet of Delhi at the head of a formidable army. He

captured a number of forts on the way. People in Lahore, Samana, Indri (and the region) upto the border of Badaon (territory) were made captives. Having reached the banks of Jumna, he (Tarmashirin) had to withdraw. The Sultan of Delhi who had encamped between the city of (old) Delhi and the Haudi Khass, gathered numerous troops. When Tarmashirin crossed back the Indus vanquished, the Sultan who had reached Kalanaur, the fort of which was found in a dilapidated condition entrusted its charge to Malik Mujir Uddin Abu Riya. Moreover, the Sultan also had deputed a number of veteran generals to chase Tarmashirin (across the Indus). From Kalanaur the Sultan returned to ¹
Darul Mulk Delhi."

1 Yahiya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi,
 Calcutta, 193 , p. 101.

Besides Yahiya Sirhindi's testimony another writer of the fifteenth century who completed his Tarikh in 1439, Mohammad Bihamad Khani has mentioned Tarmashirin's invasion in these words, "During the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, Tarmashirin entered India with a large army. But he had to retreat to Tirmiz, his capital, disappointed and defeated. He died there. Afterwards, when Amir Warghan ascended the throne, friendly relations were established between him and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah. They remained¹ friends and had mutual regard."

After the withdrawal of Tarmashirin, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq took effective measures for strengthening the defence of the

1 Cf. P. Hardy "The Tarikh-i Muhammadi by Muhammad Bihamad Khani," in Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Hoshiarpur 1958, pp. 181-90.

frontier territories and creating conditions favourable for their economic development. The Mongols used to convert large tracts of arable land into pastures for their war animals, horses and camels. They did not keep the old forts under repair because they loved to live in tents. In India as else where they had turned agricultural tracts into pastures in Kuh-i Jud and Binban¹ territories. The relevant evidence contained in Barani's Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, if examined along with other sources, particularly, Masalik-ul Absar and Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, tends to suggest that the vast liberated area near the river Jhelum are seperated from the unwiedly Kuh-i Jud tract and then two new administrative cum-fiscal units were formed with

1 Cf. I.H. Siddiqui, Politics and Conditions in the Territories Under the Occupations of Central Asian Rulers in North Western India, CAJ, Vol. 27, Nos. 3-4, 1983 Weisbaden(W.Germany), pp. 294-98.

well defined boundaries. These units were
 named as the ¹vilayet of Gujarat and the vilayet
²of Kalanaur.

After having settled the matters in these territorial units and putting them under the charge of Mujiruddin Abu Rija, the Sultan seems to have contemplated on conquering Khurasan and thereby making it the first line of defence of his Sultanate. According to a contemporary source the Sultan wanted to destroy completely

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 601.

2 Shihab-uddin Al-Umari, A 14th Century Arab Account of India Under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlug (being English trans. of the Chapters from Masalik-ul-Absar fi Mamalik-ul Amsar, by I.H. Siddiqui, Aligarh, 1971, p. 38.

the non-Muslim Mongols in Khurasan.¹ Mir Khurd, the author of Siyar-ul Auliya tells us that when the Sultan decided to shift the population from Delhi to Deogiri, he met the leading citizens of the city (Delhi) in a spacious tent pitched outside the audience hall. In his speech the Sultan emphasized the need to destroy the power of the non-Muslim Mongols across the borders of the Sultanate. On the same day, he said to Shaykh Fakhruddin Zaradi, one of the Sufi saints of Delhi: "We wish to destroy the descendents of Chengiz Khan. Could you extend cooperation to us in this regard?"²

1 Mir Khurd, Siyar-ul Auliya, pp. 271-72.

2 Cf. Siyar-ul Auliya, pp. 271-72.

Mir Khurd further informs us that the Khurasan Project was formulated in the first two years of his reign but the implementation of the Deccan Project was given priority. The correspondence between Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and the Il-khanid ruler Abu Saeed also throws valuable light on the motives of the Delhi Sultan in undertaking the Khurasan Project. But before going into the details of the contents of those letters or explaining the Khurasan Project it becomes necessary to discuss the geographical location of the region, which was termed as 'Khurasan' by the Indo-Persian writers. Their Khurasan was certainly not included in Il-khanid Iran as is erroneously considered by some of the Modern Scholars

1 In 1928, Sir Wolsey Haig identified 'Khurasan' of Barani and other Indo-Persian writers with Persia. Since then (Continued on next page.....)

of Medieval Indian History. They seem to identify it with the northern province of Il-Khanid Iran and thus fall into a historiographical error. The discovery of fresh evidence mentions Khurasan as part of the Chaghtai empire of Central Asia. The thirteenth and the fourteenth century writers meant by Khurasan only the region west and north-west of the river Indus, including the northern provinces of modern Afghanistan. For instance, in his account of Sultan Allauddin Khalji's military campaigns against the Mongol invaders from Central Asia, Amir Khusrau refers to Khurasan meaning the area north-west of the Indus. He writes that after their defeat, the

(Continued from previous page....)

every scholar has accepted his identification uncritically and this committed an error. In 1975, Peter Jackson propounded a hypothesis that the region of Khurasan that Muhammad bin Tughluq intended to conquer meant area west of

(Continued on next page.....)

1

Mongols fled away to the meadows of Khurasan. Similarly Yahiya Sirhindi calls Tarmashirin, the ruler of Khurasan. Another fifteenth century work substantiates the fact that the region lying in the north-west of Binban was called by the Indians Khurasan. Describing the origin of the fifteenth century Binbani Scholars of Gujarat and the geographical location of Binban, the compiler of the Jummat-i Shahiya states: "Binban is the vilayet lying between Multan and Khurasan.

(Continued from previous page...

Indus, i.e. the possessions of Chaghtai rulers of Central Asia. In support to his 'hypothesis he refers to Ibn-i Buttuta and Babur's writing. Ibn-i Buttuta says that in India "all foreigners are called Khurasanis." Babur writes: "Just as Arabs call every place outside Arab Ajam, so Hindustanis call every place outside Hindustan Khurasan."

The group of people who are known as Binbani in the country of Gujarat have come from the vilayet (Binban). They are descendants of Hadrat Abdullah bin-¹Abbas." Shaikh Jamali's use of Khurasan for Kabul and the area around under the rule of Babur Certainly establishes the fact that before Akbar's reign (1556-1605) Persian writers called the modern region of Afghanistan by the name of Khurasan.

If we examine the contents of the letters **exchanged** between Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and Sultan Abu Saeed of Iran, we will find that the relations of the Delhi Sultan and the Il-khan were more than just cordial. In fact the information contained in these letters

1 Jumaat-i Shahiya (Collection of Utterances of the 15th century Sufi saint; Shah Alam), as quoted by Sajid Bagar Ali Tirmizi in his Urdu article, Maulana Abdul Malik Binbani Muhadith, Ma'arif (Urdu quarterly), Azamgarh, Oct. 1950, pp. 281-82.

cast fresh light on their policy towards the non-Muslim Chaghtai ruler of Central Asia. It also strengthens the fact that the Khurasan expedition was against the Chaghtai Khans of Central Asia and did not mean the 'Khurasan' of the Il-khanid empire. This correspondence started soon after Tarmashirin's invasion. In 1328 A.D., the Sultan of Delhi dispatched his emissaries along with a letter and costly presents to the Court of Abu Saeed. In his letter the Sultan reminds the Il-khanid ruler of the existence of friendship between India and Iran during the times of their predecessors and then he refers the duty of Muslim rulers to serve the cause of Islam. He writes that the infidels had taken possession of Khurasan and penetrated in the vilayet of Sind that formed part of the country of Hindustan. All

this happened because the preceding Sultan of India were incompetent rulers, none of them could try to drive away the infidels. He appealed to Abu Saeed in the name of Islam to join hands with him for destroying the Chaghtai's power in Khurasan and also assured him of the success of their armies. He further suggested that the enemies of Islam should be driven away across the river Oxus, so that the Muslims might enjoy peace and the laws of Islam be reinforced. The letter also contains references to the difficulties faced by Merchant Caravans and the pilgrims to Mecca, owing to the infidel control over the land route (in Khurasan). Lastly the Sultan states that he dispatched the letter by hand of his emissary in all sincerity for the purpose of fostering friendship with him (Abu Saeed). His emissaries

were also directed to communicate other important matters not explained in the letter. The date¹ inscribed on the letter is 1328 A.D.

The reply to the above letter was favourable from Iran. Abu Saeed wrote in 1330 A.D. and assured the Sultan of his friendship. First he describes the conquests made by his ancestors in Iran and Iraq since the time of Hulaqu. That his illustrious ancestor (Hulaqu) having crossed the Oxus led military campaigns into the regions of Iran, the Wilderness of Rum (Anatolia) and the vilayet of Ghaznin. That all the vilayets were conquered with their strong and lofty fortys of

1 Muhammad bin Tughluq's letter found in the Bayaz-i Tajuddin Ahmad Wazir, ed. Iraj Afshar and Mustaza Timur, Danish-gah-i Isfaha, 1351, Shamsi, No. 137, pp. 404-408.

the rulers of his dynasty, he calls Ghazan (his Uncle) and Uljaitu (his father) pious rulers and says that both of them demolished the temples of infidels and turned the entire region into the abode of Islam. Both of them are also credited for having restored the laws of Islam in their dominions. In the end he appreciates the friendly gesture of the Delhi Sultan and also reciprocates the feeling of goodwill and friendship to him. He even calls him Sultan-i Azam (the Great Ruler) and Shahryar-i Mujahid (the warriors of faith). He closes his letter with the words that his emissaries would explain the details and suggested that emissaries and letters be exchanged frequently between the two Courts. All this shows his ardent desire to strengthen his ties with the Delhi Sultan.

1 Bayaz-i Tajuddin Ahmad Wazir, Op.cit., p. 409.

Evidence found in the contemporary Arabic and Persian sources, produced in India as well as outside India adds to our information regarding the exchange of diplomatic courtesies between the Il-khanid and the Delhi Court from time to time. The generosity shown by the Delhi Sultan towards these foreign envoys and embassies knew no bounds. The Arab account of Shihabuddin Al-Umari tells us how generous Muhammad bin Tughluq was to the first Iranian envoy who visited his court. He writes that Abu Saeed's first envoy Saiyad Azd-al Din, son of Qadi Yezd in the army of Sultan Abu Saeed whom Sultan Muhammad received very kindly, was given on his return to Iran huge amount of money,

in addition to costly gifts, all worth about ¹ about forty eight million dirhams. This is corroborated by our contemporary historian, Barani who **Criticises** the Sultan's open handedness towards the foreigners. Barani tells us that Saiyd Add-ul Daulah was given ² four hundred thousand tankas.

Another evidence of his munificence and generosity towards the foreign envoys is found in an early fifteenth century Iranian source, Mujmal-i Fasihi. According to it the Delhi Sultan had showered royal favours on the first Iranian envoy Saiyad Azad Aldin. Then

1 Shihabuddin Al-Umari, A Fourteenth Century Arab Account of India Under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp.47-48.

2 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p.461.

when he (the envoy) wanted to return to his native land, the Sultan ordered Saiyid Add-Uddin to be taken inside the treasury and given whatever he would like to select for himself. He was taken there and told what the Sultan had ordered. This man was very shrewd. When he entered the treasury he did not take any thing but a copy of the Holy Quran. This had a desired effect on the Sultan. Deeply impressed by his action. the Sultan gave him huge treasures besides other gifts for him and for Sultan Abu Saeed.¹

Besides showering favours on the foreign envoys Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq showed great generosity to all the foreigners

1 Fasih Ahmad bin Jalaluddin Muhammad Khwafi, Mukmal-i Fasih ed. Muhammad Farrukh, Iran, pp. 39-40 as cf. Aziz Ahmed, "Mongol Pressure on an Alien land", p. 189.

who came to his empire either as visitors or as immigrants. This policy of the Sultan of showering favour on the foreigners and the effect of this policy on the Indian politics will be discussed in a **seperate** chapter. We may now return to his policies towards the rulers of Central Asia and Iran respectively.

Tarmashirin's invasion of India had compelled Muhammad bin Tughluq to raise a large army, make friends with Abu Saeed and fight for securing scientific frontiers for the Sultanate of Delhi. His plan of conquests included the Himalayan Kingdom mentioned by Medieval writers as Qarajil and Kashmir and the region north-west of the Indus referred to as Khurasan. Commenting upon his Qarachil

expedition Barani says that it was designed to facilitate the invasion of Khurasan. "It occurred to Sultan Muhammad that since the preliminaries for the conquest of Khurasan and Mawara-al Nahr had been effected the Qarachil mountains, which lay on the direct route as a boundary and a screen between the empire of India and the empire of China, should be subjected to the banner of Islam, so that the route of entry of horses and of the march of troops should be rendered easy."¹

This reference to the Qarachil expedition which is to be found in Barani's work misled historian like Ferishta into believing that Muhammad planned the conquest

1 Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi - Urdu trans. by Dr. S. Muin-ul Haq, p. 650.

of China. Peter Jackson in his article " The Moncols and the Delhi Sultanate" noted two points. First that the mention of China is quite incidental, and serves merely to clarify the location of the mountain range in question, and second that Barani is speaking no longer of "Khurasan and Iraq" but of Khurasan and Mawara-al-Nahr in other words¹ the Chaghtai Khanate."

But looking at the final clause of Barani's passage referring to Qarachil Expedition, one point is certain - that since the Central Asia was the major source of trade for the Delhi army, safe-guarding of this trade^{route} may well have been an important

1 P. Jackson - The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate, CAJ, p. 133.

factor in Muhammad's military operations in the north-west.

Barani also says that the Qarachil expedition was under taken to fecilitate the Khurasan expedition. But we find that here Barani is alone in linking the Qarachil Campaign with the Kurasan project. Not only do Ibn-Battuta and Isami make no reference to this design of Muhammad bin Tughluq, even Yahya b. Ahmed and Badauni, who otherwise follow Barani in narrating the disasters of the reign nowhere mention Khurasan in connection with the Qarachil expedition. Ferishta though writing about the Khurasan expedition fails to link it with the Qarachil expedition.

Ibn Battuta describes Qarachil as "a great range of mountains extending for a distance of three months journey, and ten days¹ journey from Delhi," from which it is clear that the Himalayas are in question. Since it does not appear from Ibn Battuta's account of his stay in India, that he was ever near the Himalayas we may suppose that the details which he gives regarding the Qarachil expedition are derived from the survivors of the expedition. That these details are scanty can be explained on two grounds - First that the Qarachil manoeuvre was over a few years before his arrival in India and secondly that its disastrous nature probably made it a dangerous topic of conversation in an empire whose ruler was well served by spies and

1 Mr. Gibb, Vol. III, p. 713.

informants. We have, therefore no exact indication of either the route taken or the to the place to which these expedition was lead. Notwithstanding, a number of factors suggest that the territory in question may have been Kashmir.

¹
Karl John supporting this view suggests that in the third quarter of the thirteenth Century Kashmir had been more closely linked, both culturally and politically, with the Mongols of Iran than with those of China.² By the turn of the century the influence of the Il-khans in Kashmir had been replaced by that of the Chaghtai Khans, who had become the Delhi Sultanate's most formidable enemy and therefore it is possible that Kashmir had shared this fate.

1 K. John, "A Note on Kashmir And the Mongols", CAJ, II, pp. 179-80.

2 Op.cit., CAJ, II, p. 180.

The Qarachil disaster represents Muhammad bin Tughluq's last attempt to take the offensive against the Mongols. That he had learned at least one lesson from this campaign is clear from the Indian sources who unanimously say that his troops had hardships and that efforts were now being made to establish supply lines and garrisons designed to secure communications.¹ Similarly the reason for undertaking the Khurasan expedition may have been to secure natural barrier against the invaders of India. But the army recruited for the conquest of Khurasan was also disbanded after one year.

1. Gibbs tr. p. 758.

The historian of Central Asia, Sharafuddin Ali Yezdi calls Tarmashirin the first ruler of the Chaghtai dynasty of Central Asia who embraced Islam and restored Islamic laws in his dominions. Ibn Battuta who met Tarmashirin on his way to India in 1333 A.D. describes him as a zealous Musalman who was favourably disposed towards the Sultan of Delhi.¹ He writes describing Tarmashirin's fall, "when Bazun became King, the son of Sultan (Alauddin) Tarmashirin, who was Bashay Ughli fled, together with his sister and her husband Nauroz to the King of India. He (Muhammad bin Tughluq) received them as distinguished guests, and lodged them magnificently, on account of the friendship and exchange of letters and gifts which had

1 Ibn Battuta, The Travels of Ibn Battuta, Eng. trans. Vol. III, p. 555.

existed between himself and Tarmashirin, who he¹
 used to address (in his letters) as brother.
 Barani corroborates Ibn Battuta while referring
 to Tarmashirin's son-in-law (mentioned by him
 as Nauroz Khaqan) in the service of Sultan²
 Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

In short, it seems that a change had
 come in the policy of the Delhi Sultan towards
 Central Asia and the Khurasan Project was
 abandoned. With this change the age old conflict
 of arms between the two rulers came to an end.
 Ibn Battutah also furnishes useful information
 about the exchange of gifts and embassies bet-
 ween the Delhi Sultan and the rulers of Central
 Asia. His testimony is of immense significance

1 Ibn Battuta, The Travels of Ibn Battuta
 Eng. trans., Vol. III, pp. 562-63.

2 Barani, p. 533.

because he had personal contacts with them. According to him the Sultan was respected by the rulers of Central Asia and they regularly exchanged gifts from him.

As regards Sultan Muhammad's relations with the Muslim Mongol ruler of Khwarizm (Golden Horde) Barani incidentally refers to the exchange of diplomatic courtesies and gifts between them. Ibn Battuta who had served the Khwarizm ruler Amir Qutbud-Dumur also tells us that the Amir and his wife regularly sent gifts along with emissaries to Delhi and got in return what is said to have been many times the value of their own presents. He writes, " The Khatun Turabak, wife of Amir Qutbud-dumur the ruler of Khwarizm had sent this (Abdullah) as bearer of gift to the King of India (The latter)

accepted the gift and gave in return one many times its' value, which he sent to her. But the envoy of her chose to remain at his court and the King enrolled him among his familiars^{*1}.

After the fall of Tarmashirin and his subsequent murder in 1335 A.D. Ibn Battuta informs us that the King Hussain Kurt of Herat paid allegiance to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and the Khutba read in the latter's name in his Vilayet.

*The King of India exchanged gifts from him and gave him the city of Bakar (Bhakkar) in Sind whose taxes yield in 50,000 silver Dinars a

1. The Travels of Ibn Battuta, Vol. II,
P. 311.

year¹*. The contemporary official documents not only corroborate but also supplement Ibn Battuta's statement. We come across two letters contained in the Faraid-i Ghiyath,² a fifteenth century collection of epistles. One of the letter was written by Muin Uddin Jami, to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq on behalf of the successor of Sultan Hussain Kurt. In this the Delhi Sultan had been informed about the chaotic conditions in Iran and the accession of Muiz Uddin bin Abul Hussain Kurt in Herat in 1349. The Sultan is also requested to send a farman along with his seal confirming the new ruler of Herat.³

1. The Travels of Ibn Battuta, Vol.III, pp. 579-80.

2. This is an important collection of Persian epistles. It contains more than eight hundred letters and royal documents written by two hundred important persons from 8th century to the region of Shah Rukh. The Compiler, Jalaluddin Yusuf Ahljamī dedicated it to Shah Rukh's wazir Ghyathuddin Pir Ahmad in 1433 A.D. The last volume contains letters dispatched by Shah Rukh to Indian Sultans of North India.

3. Faraid-i-Ghiyasi Vol.I. letter no. 32. P. 147.

The Second letter has been drafted by another officer of Herat Malik Jamaluddin Iktisan on behalf of Hussain Kurt, the new ruler of Herat. In it the ruler informs Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq that the saints, Ulema, sayyids and nobles placed him on the throne and restored peace and order in Khurasan (Herat). In the end he requests the sultan to confirm him as his vassal by granting the farman. The envoy who brought this letter from Herat to Delhi is also referred to as Rasul.¹

After the death of Sultan Abu Saeed in 1335 A.D. we find that the diplomatic courtesies between Iran and India are disrupted. One of the cousins of Abu Saeed, Haji Kawun arrived in Delhi as the representative of his brother Musa who had been accepted Sultan of Iran by a section of the nobility there. The Haji was extended royal hospitality and also loaded with costly gifts. He returned to Iran after his brother

2. Ibid, letter No. 41- P. 183-84.

had been killed in 1337 A.D. On the fall of the Il-khanid dynasty, Iran suffered from anarchy and diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries could not be maintained.

Similarly the disruption of the exchange of diplomatic courtesies between the Sultan of Delhi and the Chaghtai ruler of Central Asia was brief. After the fall of Qazan (the murderer of Tarmashirin) Amir Qazaghan had emerged all powerful in Transoxiana.¹ He maintained friendly relations with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. He sent a strong military contingent under the command of Altan Bahadur to India in the service of the Sultan. Barani does not tell us when and why he had sent his contingent but his reference to his presence

1 Barani, pp. 536-37. Cf. Peter Jackson's, 'Central Asiatic Journal', No. 1-2, 1975. pp. 154-55.

in the royal army camp near Thatta suggests that it must have been dispatched sometime after the year 1346 after Amir Qazaghan coming to power. On Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's death in 1351 A.D. the relations between Firuz Shah of Delhi and Qazaghan became strained. Though Sultan Firuz Shah was able to drive away Altun Bahadur, Barani's account of the early years of his reign shows how the Mongol raids on the frontier region again caused loss of life and property. In a separate section entitled 'Cessation of the In Roads by Chengiz Khani Mongols, Barani tells us that the new Sultan neither encouraged the Mongols to pay visit to Delhi and get away wealth nor he neglected the defence of the north western frontier region. The Mongols invaded India twice but in the first six years of Firuz Shah's reign was each time they were defeated.¹ One of Ain-ul Mulk letters

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 601.

supplements our information that the Chief of Sind got into alliance with the Moncol governor of Ghaznin and collaborated with him against Sultan Firuz Shah. But their combined forces were not able to achieve success against the ¹ governor of Multan.

In fact, the Mongol power in Central Asia was in decline and did not constitute a serious threat to the Sultanate of Delhi till Firuz Shah's death in 1368 A.D.

1 Insha-i Mahru, ed. Shaikh Abdus Rashid Lahore, 1965, Letter No. 99, pp.186-88.

However, the fact that the relations of the Kurt rulers of Herat were friendly with the Delhi court even after the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq is borne out by letters found in Faraid-i Ghiyasi. Although a number of letters were written by the dignataries of Herat to Firuz Shah (1351 - 1388) and his Wazir Khan-i Jahan a few of them are important in so far as they cast light on the relations between Delhi and Herat. In one of the letters Sheikh-ul Islam of Herat Yahya Nishapuri thanks Sultan Firuz Shah for the money he had sent for distribution¹ among the people of Khurasan. In another letter the dignitary of Herat Muinuddin Jami congratulates Sultan Firuz Shah over his victories achieved in Bengal and Jajnaqar. Allusions are

1 Faraid-i Ghiyasi, Vol. I, Letter 24, pp. 115-16.

also made therein to the elephants and treasures¹ acquired in those territories. The letter addressed by Muinuddin Jami to Sayyid-ul Hujab Jalaluddin of Delhi contains news of the passing away of Sultan Hussain Kurt and the accession of² Sultan Ghiyasuddin Kurt.

In the final analysis,^{it} may be emphasized that the phenomenal prestige and grandeur in the diplomatic circles, acquired by the city of Delhi during the time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, helped it continue to be a place of considerable importance even after the dissolution of the Delhi Sultanate in 1398 A.D. The Sultan of Delhi was still considered outside India the most respectable of the rulers.

1 Faraid-i Ghiyasi, Vol. I, No. 30
pp. 134-35.

2 Ibid., Vol. II, Letter 167, pp. 68-70.

Chapter - V

Relations of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq with
the foreigners

Chapter - V

The Turkish Sultans of Delhi did not believe in an isolated existence be it political social or even commercial. They appreciated fully the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations with the foreign powers. The Adab-ul-Harb of Fakhr-i Mudabbir very elaborately describes the ideals and ambitions of the Delhi Sultans in India and lays down certain rules regarding the qualifications of ambassadors and their functions. The way in which Fakhr-i Mudabbir has gone into every minute detail about external contacts shows that a considerable importance was attached to it in those days. The following is the summary of the account of Fakhr-i Mudabbir regarding the qualification and functions of an ambassador:

"When an envoy is dispatched from one sovereign to another, he should be of noble

lineage, should come from a scholarly and pious family, he should have been brought up before the King and must have become cultured and discriminating having learnt court conventions He should be formidable, handsome eloquent, glib-tongued of tall stature and graceful so that he may command respect in the eyes of the people. An envoy should not be ugly or repulsive to sight, cripple, idle taker, disposed to laugh immoderately parsimonious or ill-tempered..... He should be modest, sedate, lavish, charitable, magnanimous, spend-thrift, extravagant to a degree that nothing is too much in his eyes and a number of learned divines, a scholars and high born persons should accompany him. Plenty of wealth should be sent with him so that he may not lag behind from doing any good..... An envoy should be such

that when he is dispatched to the court of a King he may be ready witted. So long as he is not asked about anything he should reply in a decent and befitting manner and should not cut a sorry figure. If any branch of knowledge is being discussed in the court he should explain it in a proper manner and in agreeable language if he knows it. If he does not know he should remain silent and should not begin it and show that he knows that branch of knowledge and he should not go to the extent that he is subjected to test and may not be able to acquit himself well as a result of which he may be regarded as fester and of mean profession

..... He should be a 'tearer' and at the same time a 'sewer', a 'maker' and a 'burner' Simultaneously he should speak with a vital force and in a vigorous manner and should not humbly or weakly..... when he is

asked about the King, the territory, the retainers and the subjects, ' he should speak in such a way as to place them in a superior position to all others. He should never behave arrogantly his mouth is the mouth of his master. He should talk to the grandes and functionaries of that country politely and softly and in an agreeable manner so that all of them may be on friendly terms with him. If necessity demands friendship with someone he should send him rare gifts because much love and goodwill is acquired thereby¹ and many secrets are thus known."

While describing the quality and the quantity of the gifts and presents sent with an envoy Fakhr-i Mudabbir further writes, " The presents which are sent through the envoy should

1 Fakhr-i Mudabbir, 'Adab-ul Harb wa-Shujat, ff. 57a-59a.

Cf. K.A. Nizami's 'Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, pp.

be excellent even if he (that is the King whom those presents are sent for) does not deserve them by virtue of his rank; so that the sender's degree of generosity, ambicability and magnanimity may be estimated and the assertion of his magnificence should be the primary gain which may be achieved by sending those presents which are rarely found in his (i.e. the receivers) country.¹"

Fakhr-i Mudabbir then gives a list of articles which should be sent as presents to foreign courts. The following is the list of such articles:-

1. The Quran.
2. The Commentaries on Quran written in good hand.
3. Cultured slaves.
4. Turkish, Rumi, Abyssinian and Indian slave girls.

1 Op.cit., Adabi-ul Harb wa Shujat,

Cf- K.A Nizami's *rel. & Pol. in India during the 13th Cen.* - PP 328-329.

5. Horses and Camels.
 6. Gold and silver embroidered cloth.
 7. Saddles and Bridles.
 8. Swords.
 9. Kataras (small swords).
 10. Shields.
 11. Arrows and bows.
 12. Helmets.
 13. Different types of coats of mail and armlets.
 14. Vests worn under coats of mail.
 15. Horse Armour.
 16. Veils.
 17. Knives with handles made of khatu (bones of a Chinese bird).
 18. Sandal wood.
 19. Aloe wood.
 20. Tusks of Elephants.
-

21. Rubies.
 22. Turquoise.
 23. Jasper.
 24. Arabian shells.
 25. Linen and woollen clothes.
 26. Mats and prayer carpets.
 27. Velvet.
 28. Raw silk.
 29. Falcons.
 30. Turkish Elephants.
 31. Stockings.
 32. Breeches.
 33. Musk.
 34. Camphor.
 35. Leather table clothes.
 36. Cushions.
 37. Fox furs.
 38. China vessels.
 39. Morocco Leather.¹
-

1 Op.cit., Adab-ul Harb wa Shujat,

Lastly Fakhr-i Mudabbir deals with treaties and agreements and draws attention to the following essentials in this context:-

- (a) All agreements should be made in writing.
- (b) Both parties should vow to act upon the agreement.
- (c) All Qazis, Saiyyids, saints, celebrities nobles, officers put their signatures on this agreement.
- (d) The agreement should be read out before both the parties.

Although throughout the fourteenth century we find the exchange of embassies and ambassadors between India and the Central Asia, West Asian, Persian and even Arab countires, but this trend is at it's peak during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. The account of Sultan's generosity

is given in details not only by the Indian writers but even by the foreign historians. The fourteenth century Arab accounts throws light on the diplomatic activities most vibrant during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Hamidullah Mustawfi writing in 1340 A.D. noted "But recently Sultan Muhammad Shah of Delhi has abolished the rule and in place of hoarding treasure has been spending all the gold he possessed and consequently no one now thinks of bringing gold into India from these islands but rather would carry away gold and treasure thence to Iran, for it is now the most profitable commodity to export from India."¹ Badr-i Chach has immortalized in his gasidas.² "But for the danger of pirates and robbers" writes Barani, "Muhammad bin Tughluq

1 Nuzhat-ul Qulub, tr. Le Strange, p. 222.

2 Qasaid-i Badr-i Chach, Kanpur, 1873, K.A. Nizami, Studies in Medieval Indian History, pp.

would have sent all the treasures of Delhi to
 Egypt.¹"

By the middle of the fourteenth century the empire of the Il-Khanid Mongols of Persia founded by Hulaku Khan comprising Persia Mesopotamia and Armenia had collapsed. Though the Mongols still held sway over the vast territory from Pekin to Damascus and from volga to the North-west frontier of India their power had weakened. Far from playing the role of invaders of India, they were now anxious to develop friendly relations with the Delhi Sultans. We hear of embassies pouring in from different parts of Asia. The Iraq embassy was sent by Musa who was a cousin of Sultan Abu Sa'id, King of Iraq.

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, pp. 494-5.

The Chinese embassy sent by Toghan Timur, the Chinese emperor¹ the Khwarizm embassy sent by Princess Turabak, wife of the ruler of Khwarizm All these were attempts on the part of these foreigners to maintain friendly relations. Other instances of similar objectives are found in the arrival at Delhi of Amir Saifuddin, son of Mubanna² Chief of the Arabs of Syria as well as of distinguished visitors from Damascus and Khurasan.

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- 1 Ibn Battutah, Urdu, Vol. II, pp. 235-36.
- 2 Ibn Battutah, Eng. trans. M. Hussain, p. 77.

The generosity of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had become proverbial throughout Western Asia. The author of Masalik-ul Absar as well as Ibn Battuta supply ample evidence which throws light on the generosity of the Sultan towards the foreigners. Ibn Battuta says, "The King of Indiamakes a practice of honouring strangers and showing affection to them and singling them out for governorships or high dignities of state. The majority of his courtiers place officials, ministers of state, judges, and relatives by marriage¹ are foreigners."

This influx of foreigners was not confined to the civil administration. The army likewise contained a large proportion of foreigners among whom Umari mentions Turks, " natives

1 Tr. Gibb, Vol. III, p. 595.

of khita¹", and Persians, while Ibn Battuta himself refers more than once to "the amirs of ² Khurasan."

These actions of Muhammad bin Tughluq were not directed simply at acquiring an unrivalled reputation for munificence.³ That this was a matter of deliberate policy⁴ is confirmed by his method of welcoming visitors to his empire. An elaborate intelligence network furnished the Sultan with detailed information on all new comers,⁵

1 Tr. Quartremere, p. 180; Tr. O. Spies, p. 38.

2 Tr. Gibb, Vol. III, pp. 721-723.

3 P. Jackson, 'The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate' (AJ, Vol. 19, 1975, No.1-4, p. 127.

4 Ibid.

5 Rehla, Tr. Gibb, Vol. III, pp. 569-95.

and immigrants from 'Khurasan' were obliged to sign a contract engaging them not to depart immediately.¹ The Sultan was most reluctant to give any foreigner permission to depart,² and severe penalties were inflicted on those who attempted to leave without his authorisation.

Besides Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's policy towards the refugees who came to him after Tarmashirin's ^{murder} by Qazan, the non-Muslim Chaghtai prince forced the Muslim Mongol Princes and other dignitaries to seek shelter in friendly India. Ibn Battuta and Barani mentions a few of them, while describing the Sultans generosity towards the foreigners. He writes - "when Bazun became King, the son of Sultan Tarmashirin, who

1 Rehla, Tr. Gibb, Vol. III, p. 607.

2 Op.cit., Vol. I, Cambridge 1958, p.263.

was Bashay Ughli fled, together with his sister and her husband Nauroz to the King of India. He (Sultan) received them as distinguished guests and lodged them magnificently, on account of the friendship and exchange of letters and gifts which had existed between himself and Tarmashirin....."¹

Similarly both Barani and Ibn Battuta refer to Malik Bahram, the ex-governor of Ghaznin upon whom the Sultan bestowed his favour on his arrival to India. He was accommodated in a Palace at Siri.² He was paid one lac tankas³ annually. Likewise, Muhammad Al-Charkhi, one of the high nobles at the court of Tarmashirin was

1 The Travels of Ibn-Battuta, Vol. III, p. 555.

2 Ibid., p. 682.

3 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, pp.461-62.

also shown consideration.¹ Malik Sarjar Budakhshani was paid eighty lac tankas, were as the Qazi of Ghaznin was given to much in money and jewels that he could never have imagined in his life.² Though the immigrants who came to India in the past also, largely belonged to the region of modern Afghanistan, how their large number seems to have increased considerably. The foreigners at the court of the Sultan seem to have been in such a large size that they constituted a force. According to the author of Masalik-ul Absar fi Mamalik-ul Amsar says that the liberality of this Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq) ruler of Delhi, is extra ordinary and his benefactions to foreigners is great.³ A learned

1 The Travels of Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. III, p. 589.

2 Barani, p. 462.

3 Al Umari, Masalik-ul Absar, trans. O. Spies, p. 38.

scholar from Persia came to him and presented him philosophical books. Among which there was the 'Shifa' by Ibn Sina. It happened that as he stood before him a great load of precious gems was brought and presented to him. He took a handful from them for presenting them to him. They were worth 20,000 mithqals of gold. This¹ besides other things he bestowed upon him.

Another incident by the same author says that nobody wore cotton cloth which is imported to India from Russia and Alexandria but those whom the Sultan supplies the dresses. As regards their gowns and dresses they are made of fine cotton. He said from it clothes are made which

1 Al Umari, Maslik-ul Absar, trans. O. Spies, p. 40.

resemble the garments of Baghdad.¹ "The Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq) is a generous and noble man who does good to the foreigners." One of the Amirs of Bahram has related, "Two men from us travelled to him and he granted them favours and honoured them with robes of honour and paid them huge wealth although they were Arabs of no position. Then he gave them the option between staying or returning one of them chose to stay and the Sultan gave him a great province and considerable gifts and many things from amongst cattle sheep and cows. The other asked to go² home and the Sultan gave him 3000 gold tankas."

1 Al-Umari, Masalik-ul Absar, trans. Otto Spies, p. 46.

2 Ibid., p. 47.

Similarly he sent ~~crores~~ of tankas to be distributed in the sacred towns of Iraq, Ghaznin,¹ remitted many taxes on import and² patronized foreign scholars. People gathered at his court from Khurasan, Iraq, Mawara-un Nahr,³ Khwarazm, Sistan, Herat, Egypt and Damascus. Barani says that in the later years of his reign, many distinguished Mongol and Mongol ladies - the great men of Mughulistan including Mongol amirs' of Tumans and Hazaras - used to come every year to offer their allegiance, service sincerity and loyalty. Some of them remained in his service, other went back. They got lacs and crores of tankahs, golden ornaments

1 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr. O. Spies, p. 40.

2 Op.cit., Nizami, Supplement to Elliot & Dowson's History of India, Vol. III, p. 14.

3 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 462.

set with precious stones, diamonds, golden and silver vessels, basins full of gold and silver tankas, pearls weighed out by mans,¹ cloth of gold brocade and caparisoned horses. Hamdullah Mustaufi writing in 1340, noted, "But recently Sultan Muhammad Shah of Delhi has abolished the rule and in place of hoarding treasure, has been spending all the gold he possessed and consequently no one now thinks of bringing gold into India from these Islands; but rather would carry away gold and treasure thence to Iran, for it is now the most profitable² commodity to export from India."

The Rehla of Ibn-i Battuta testifies to the charm of titles and worldly honours which were conferred upon by the Emperor on

1 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 462.

2 Op.cit., Nizami, Supplement, Vol.III, p. 14.

the distinguished visitors and persons of
¹
 recognized merit.

Evidence coming from the Indian sources tends to reveal that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's generosity towards the foreigners caused bitterness among the Indians. The foreigners were not only appointed at important posts in the administration of the Empire but also given huge treasures. The foreigners even played a leading role in quelling the rebellion of Ain-ul Mulk Mahru. The rebellion was so sudden that the Sultan had become despaired of his survival because of rebel being of Indian origin was supported by the majority of Indians." The Amirs of Khurasan and the foreigners", says Ibn-i Battuta, "were in the

1. Rehla, trans., p. XXX.

greatest fear of this rebel (Ain-ul Mulk) because he was an Indian, people of India hold the foreigners, in hatred because of the Sultan's favouritism of them.¹ It is clear from this remark of Ibn-i Battuta, that this policy of the Sultan aroused considerable opposition among the native aristocracy. Barani, too criticizes Muhammad's open handedness - especially to foreigners which led to the impoverishment of the treasury.² Subsequently, he again singles out this policy for mention among the Sultans wasteful Projects, linking it specifically with his design of conquering Khurasan.³

1 Ibn-i Battuta, Travels, Gibb, Vol.III, pp. 721-22.

2 Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, p. 461.

3 Ibid., p. 476..

Barani is very critical of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's foreign policy because it had caused a heavy drain on the royal exchequer. He writes that every year the Mongol commanders of Tuman (ten thousand) Amiran -i Hazarah (Commanders of one thousand horsemen), the khatuns (royal ladies) and other notables arrived (In India) and crores and hundreds of thousands of tankahs in addition to robes, well equipped horses, jewels and pearls were given to them. Moreover every year banquets were hosted in their honour. Elaborate arrangements were made for their comfort and entrainment. The Sultan had no other work but to shower

favours upon them for two or three months in the winter.¹ It may also be pointed out that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq is reported to have enforced prohibition in his empire, but the Mongol emigrants could imbibe wine in their houses, even though they had become Muslims.²

In the final analysis it may be said that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq continued the policy of his predecessors in maintaining diplomatic relations with the foreign powers. But his patronage to the foreigners, his costly items as gifts to the foreign rulers and the people of Iraq and Egypt was an elaboration of this policy on his part. A very valuable manuscript of Salahuddin Safadi, *Al-A'yan-ul Asr*, preserved

1 Barani, p. 469.

2 Akbar Husayni, 'Javami-al Kalim', (Kanpur A.H. 1356), p. 250.

Cf. I.H. Siddiqui's article on 'Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq'.

in Dar-ul Kutub-i Misri'a in Egypt contains interesting information about the Sultan's relations with the rulers and scholars of Egypt.¹ Muhammad bin Tughluq was not satisfied with merely establishing contact with the governing classes; he was anxious to win the goodwill of the masses, particularly the saints and scholars of the foreign countries. Thus, his foreign policy as well as many of his measures like the Khurasan expedition, the Qarachil expedition, the token currency etc. will remain unintelligible unless considered in the broader context of political developments in the outside world. In his objectives the Sultan definitely succeeded for he became extremely popular in the West Asian countries as revealed by the Arab accounts.

1 Op.cit., Nizami "Studies in Medieval Indian History", p.

CHAPTER -VI

RELATIONS OF THE DELHI SULTANS
WITH THE CALIPHATE

Relations of the Delhi Sultans with the Caliphate

Though essentially theoretical and formal the relations of the Sultans of Delhi with the Caliphate cannot be ignored. Iltutmish (1210-1235) was the first Sultan to receive a formal recognition from the Caliph Mustahsir Billah in 1229 A.D.¹ From that time onwards the name of the Khalifa was included in the Khutba and inscribed on the coins. Even after the fall of Baghdad and the Mongol occupation of the lands of the eastern Caliphate the Sultans of Delhi continued to inscribe the name of the Khalifa on the coins. It was as Dr. Tripathi rightly

1. Tabaqat -i Nasiri p. 175.

says on expression of the feeling "The Khalifa is dead, long live the Khalifa!"¹

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq laid great emphasis on the legal aspect of the institution of Khilafat.² His views about Khilafat were the result of his extensive study.³ He may have at some stage used the concept of Khilafat to buttress his position against discontent for his measures but in his approach towards the institution of Khilafat he was a sincere and as Ibn Batuta says it was based on his faith (*دین*). His teacher Qatlugh Khan is reported to have impressed upon his

1. R.P. Tripathi 'Some aspects of Muslim adm in India p. 37

2. Barani-Taukh-i-Firozshahi - pp. 491-93. Rehla Cairo ed. 1928 Vol.II p.43.

3. Sirat-i-Firozshahi p.139
opt cit K.A. Nizami 'Studies in Medieval Indian History!

mind the need of Caliphal recognitions of authority for the Sultans. Muhammad bin Tughluq found out after persistent enquiries¹ that an Abbasid refugee in Egypt had been elevated to the dignity of the Caliph. He approached him for recognition of his authority for, according to him the legal ruler of the muslim people was the Caliph and the Sultan enjoyed only delegated authority. He stopped the friday and Id prayers until the investiture was received and even removed his name from the Coins³. For this act Isami Charges him for being irreligious but Isami is unfair when

1. Barani Tarikh-i- Firoz Shahi P. 492

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

he charges him of stopping prayers on account of his irreligious attitude.¹ When Haji Sa'id Sarsari, an envoy of the Egyptian Caliph Hakim II came to India with confirmation decree and the role of honour the Sultan showed deep respect to him went out to receive him and walked barefooted before him.² After receiving the investiture (Manshur) from the Caliph the Sultan took ba'yat from the people with the Quran, the Mashariq -ul Anwar and Manshur placed by his side .³ The Friday prayers were

1. Isami, 'Futuh-us Salattni p. 515.

2. Barani, Tarikh p.492

3. Barani, Tarikh p.495.

re-introduced but the names of the rulers who had not received Manshurs were dropped from the Sermons (Khutba).¹

Besides the relationship with the Caliphate another important aspects of India's contact with the outside world was in the realm of ideas. In the early years of the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi, Baghdad, Bukhara and Samargand were looked upon as the centres of muslim learning Whenever any scholar had any doubts about muslim law and religion he would turn towards these lands.

1. Barani -Tarikh i-Firozshahi p. 495,

Iltutmish procured from Baghdad two very important books. Adab us- Salatin and Ma'asir us -Salatin -, dealing with muslim political theory -for his sons.¹ After the mongol irruption many scholars of Buthara, Samargand, Iraq and Khwarizm came to India and settled here. Thus Delhi could start from the point where Baghdad and Bukhara had left. Scholars came to India from foreign lands to get their books approved by Indian scholars.²

Isami says that whenever the muftis of Samarqand and Bukhara find themselves face to

1. Barani - Tarikh-i-Firoz shahi p.145

2. Ibid. p.355.

face with any difficulty they acquire fatwa from the people of this city.¹ It was a unique distinction for Indo-Muslim scholars. During the reign of Sultan Balban two emissaries came to India from Chisht the first of the Chishti silsilah, to request a saint Sheikh Ali who lived in Delhi to go to Chisht and look after the spiritual needs of the people.² Prince Muhammad had correspondence with Sheikh Sa'adi³ while Maulana Shamsuddin Turk came to India from Egypt with a camel load of books during the reign of Allauddin Khalji.⁴ This

1. Isami - Futuh-us- Salatin
Madras ed. p.453.

2. Siyar ul Auliya p.212.
opt cit K.A. Nizami 'Studies in med. Ind.
History p.

3. Barani Tarikh p. 68.

4. Ibid p. 297.

intellectual contact with the outer world increased during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq who procured books from foreign lands¹, helped foreign scholars², invited them to India³ and sometimes requested them to dedicate their master-pieces to him.⁴ During his time Indian Saints were known in Alexandria⁵ and people of other lands had very deep and intimate knowledge of Indian conditions.⁶

1. Masalik ul Absar eng. trans. p.62

2. Ibid p.57

3. Ibid p.36

4. Sh.Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi Akhbar-ul-Akhyar p. 142.

5. Rehla, eng. trans. pp.6,20

6. Masalik -ul-Absar.

When Ibn-Batuta met Sheikh Burhanuddin Al Araj in Alexandria before starting on his itinerary, the latter talked to him about Sheikh Rukhuddin Multani and Sheikh Allaiddin Ajodhani.¹ It is interesting to note that India reciprocated the intellectual and religious movements of other countries. The influence of Ibn-i-Tamiya (1263-1328) reached India through his pupil² Maulana Abdul Aziz Ardvaili. The extent to which the Indo-muslim religious thought was influenced by this movement may be estimated from the religious outlook and policies of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

1. Rehla eng. trans. p.6,20.

2. Ibid. p.70.

CHAPTER-VII

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE DELHI SULTANS

CHAPTER-VII

India's commercial Contacts with the outside world also developed during the Sultanate period. Isami refers to the presence of Chinese traders in Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. These merchants once showed their articles to the Sultan also

” زعفران و حبش اشیاى آن بوم و بر - کشیدند پیش شهبه نامور ”^{۸۱}

Horses were imported from Turkestan, Russia, Iraq and Bahrain.¹ When the import of horses had almost Ceased as a result of political changes in Central Asia, Balban is reported to have boasted that he could Maintain the necessary supplies even if horses

1. Masalik-ul-Absar-Eng. trans. by Otto Spies p.22.

from the mongol territories did not reach India.¹
 Elephants were exported from India.² The author of
Tarik-i- Ghazan Khan says

"پیلان الہ از دیار ہندوستان جمعت ہندی حضرت آورده بودند"

(They had brought elephants from India for His Majesty)

The author of Rahat-us-Sudoor refers to
 Indian sword (شمشیر ہندی)³ In a petition drafted
 by Amir Khusro on behalf of a merchant and presented

1. Barani, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. p.53.

2. Tarikh-i-Ghazan Khan p.254
 opt cit Nizami's "Studies in Medieval Indian History
 and Culture p.12.

3. Cf. K.A.Nizami - "Studies in med. Ind. Hist & Culture
 p.10.

to a high official during the time of Allauddin Khalji there is a reference to foreign traders in Delhi who had made enormous profits in the west in Syria, in Abyssinnia, Egypt and Madain and were expected to proceed to China and Khita after visiting Delhi.¹

It is worth noting that there was a great progress of overland as well as maritime trade between India. Iran and the countries of Central Asia during the time of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq. Yahya Sirhindi refers to the prosperity of the Khurasani merchants during this period and says "All the big mansions in the prosperous city (Delhi) were owned by them. They used to purchase all articles

1. Cf K.A. Nizami - "Studies in med. Ind. Hist. & Culture p.10

such as gold and silver, paper and books and slaves also and sent them to Khurasan"¹ The leading merchants commanded great respect in the countries they visited and would act as emissaries between different rulers. Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq utilized the services of the foreign merchants both for the progress of trade and enhancing his prestige abroad.² These merchants came to India from Khurasan, Iraq (Il-Khanid Iran), Transoxiana, Sistan, Harev (the Kingdom of Herat) , Egypt, Syria and Mughulistan. They came to India in ships and

1. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi eng. trans. p.110

2. Barani, pp. 461-62.

Caravans both.¹ They visited the Sultan with gifts and in return received vessels of gold studded with pearls and jewels , gold plates full of .gold and silver coins besides robes made of costly silk stuff such as Zarbaft (Silk worn with gold thread), imported horges and expensive belts .² Muhammad Bin Tughluq used to send one Saiyid Abul Hasan Ibadi to purchase weapons and other things.³

The Tarikh-i Ghazan Khan also refers to the frequent visits of Indian traders to the lands of the Mongols.⁴ It appears that the same feeling

1. Barani, pp 461-62.

2. Ibid.

3. Rehla -eng. trans.Gibb p.131.

4. Cf. K.A. Nizamis "Studies in med. Ind. Hist & Culture p.10.

which an Indian merchant had expressed against the foreign merchants was expressed by the merchants of other lands about the Indian traders carrying business in foreign countries.¹

During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq , a Khurasani merchant assaulted the Kotwal in the royal palace. When the matter was brought before. The Sultan he hesitated to inflict any severe punishment on him and said

” اوراچہ کنڈ کہ فردی شہر غریب است“

(How should he be dealt with)

He is a native of a foreign land)

1. Cf. K.A. Nizamis "Studies in med. Ind. Hist. & Culture p.10

Ultimately it was decided that all the Khurasani traders in Delhi should be called and asked to spit on his face because he had disgraced them in a foreign land and that he should be expelled from the country.¹

The contemporary Arabic sources further furnishes detailed information about the expansion of India's trade with the outside world. Shihabuddin Al-Umari informs us that "The merchants bring pure gold to India and take in exchange merchandize of herbs and Arabic gums."² Fruits were brought from Khurasan for Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq. Once the Sultan sent Turkish and Arabian horses and fruits brought for him from Khurasan as presents

1. Afif -Tarikh-i- Firozshahi pp. 494-97

2. Cf. K.A. Nizamis "Studies in Med. Ind. Hist. & Culture p.10

to Sultan Shamsuddin of Lakhnauti¹. The garments distributed by Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq in spring were prepared in Alexandria. The garments for the Summers were prepared in Delhi but their stuff was brought from China and Iraq.² Afif also informs us that two thousand slave girls in the harem of Khan-i- Jahan belonged to Rum and China.³ Amir Khusro mentions the use of Shami (Syrian) paper in Delhi. Barbosa (around 1518 A.D.) further refers to a kind of sash named Sarband made in Bengal was liked by European ladies for their head dress and by Arab and persian merchants for their turbans.⁴

1. Tarikh-i- Mubarakshahi eng. trans. pp.132-33.

2. Masalik -ul Absar- eng. trans, A 14th on Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq by Otto Spies. p.30.

3. Tarikh-i-Firozshahi p.400.

4. The Book of Dnarte Barbosa- Hakluyt society Vol.II, p.145.

Varthema informs us that cambay and Bangala were the two important ports in north from where Silk and Cotton stuff were taken to Persia, Tartary Syria Barbary Arabin (Africa), Felix, ethiopia' etc. ¹

Shahabuddin Al-Umari mentioned that the merchants both Indian and foreign at this time appear to be the leading capitalists of their age.² They sailed in ships or moved in Caravans to different Countries.³ Ibn Batuta supplements Al-Umari in this regard. His description of Multan and the port cities

1. The Travels of Ludovic Varthema Vol.III p.212

2. Masalik-ul Absar - eng. trans. Otto Spies
p. 39-40.

3. Ibid.

of Cambay in Gujarat and Lahri in Sind shows how crowded they were by the foreign merchants and yielded huge revenue in the form of custom dues.¹

It may also be emphasized that the exchange of gifts between different rulers that comprised the choiced products of their countries as well as gifted slaves, both male and female, led to diversity in culture and improvement of crafts. That Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was far ahead of his age is reflected in his enlightened foreign policy. He gave up the offensive policy against the Chaghtai rulers of Khurasan (modern Afghanistan) and Mawara-un Nahr (Transoxiana)

1. The Travels of Ibn Batuta, Vol. III, pp. 672-73, 730, 733-34.

after he had become convinced that friendship would not only ensure security and peace to his people in the frontier region but also go a long way in promoting overland trade between the Sultanate and the Central Asian countries. It was an outcome of his statementship that the kingdom of Herat and Chaghtai empire became the satellites of his Sultanate, whereas the rulers of Iran and Khwarizm remained his good friends. His enlightened attitude and generosity not only brought civilized countries closer to India but also attracted men of talent and learning from abroad. All this enriched the Delhi Sultanate's Cultural heritage.

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